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THE
HISTORY OF THE COUNTY
AND
CITY OF CORK.

BY
REV. C. B. GIBSON, M.R.I.A.

"The spreading Lec, that like an island fayre,
Encloseth Corke with his divided flood."—*Spenser*.

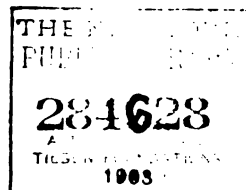
"The Mayor of the town, with his brethren, received him in ther skarlet gowns, and
her typetts of velvett, after the English fashion, and made us the beste chere that ever we
had in ower lyves."—*State Paper*.

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 Ware, Thomas, Cork
 Warren, Rev. R., Rector of Cannaway
 Waterford, The Mayor for 1860
 Webb, Rev. R. F., Rector of Dunderrow
 Webb, Robert, Mallow
 Welply, Dan, J.P., Upton House
 Welstead, Richard, J.P., Ballywalter
 Wheeler, Joseph, Queenstown
 White, Charles T., Cork
 White, G. M., J.P., Castlewhite
 White, Joseph, Clonmel
 Whitelegge, Rev. M., B.A., Cork
 Whitty, Captain, Dublin Castle
 Wilson, R., Queenstown
 Williamson, Arthur, Mallow
 Wise, Thos. A., M.D., Rostellan Castle
 Wood, H. W., London
 Woodley, F., A.B., Queenstown
 Worsley, Lady, Brockesley Park
 Wright, Thomas, Clonakilty

YOUNG, Wm., Junior, Bantry Mills

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THE HISTORY OF CORK.

CHAPTER I.

THE REBELLION IN THE CITY.

A.D. 1603.

CAMDEN calls Cork, in the latter half of the 16th century, "a populous little trading town, and much resorted to; but so beset with rebel enemies on all sides, that they are obliged to keep constant watch, as if the town were continually besieged; and they dare not marry out their daughters in the country, but contract one with another among themselves, whereby all the citizens are related in one degree or other."

The chief magistrate was chosen for the space of a hundred and seventy-five years—that is, from 1435 to 1610—with but five exceptions,* from the following names:—Goulds, Roches, Terrys, Meads, Coppingers, Galways, Sarsfields, Morroghs, Skiddys, Ronaynes, Walters, and Lavallyns. Sir Henry Sydney tells

* The *five exceptions* are—Godfrey Naiole, John Mezca, Christopher Creagh, Henry Walsh, and Francis Martel.

Elizabeth to take care of the towns, as "the loss of them would be the loss of the whole kingdom." He says, "they are the only force your majesty has to trust, out of the English pale of this realm." He styles them "*high pieces of regard*."

It was the policy of the government of the day to foment a bad feeling between the town and country. If the spirit of rebellion which reigned abroad throughout the country had possessed the towns, the whole kingdom would have passed from under the British rule; the towns were, therefore, chartered, coaxed, and petted. But it was impossible to blind them to the fact, that the town is fed by the country; that to devastate the country is to starve the city. Though the merchants of Cork would not marry their daughters to farmers, they must buy their wheat and oats, their milk and butter, their sheep and oxen. These things were of more value than charters, "remarkable caps," or chains of gold.* When the pressure from without came, Waterford shut her gates in the face of the viceroy, and the Beautiful City assumed the imperious airs of a queen. Sir George Carew did not contemplate this when he sent his soldiers through Munster to destroy the food of the people, but the Lord Deputy Mountjoy did, for in his letter to the lords of the council, dated 26th of February, 1603, he speaks of "a dearth and famine which is already begun, and must of necessity grow shortly to extremity; the bent of which alone have been many

* *Chains of gold.* Queen Elizabeth sent a *silver* collar of SS. to Maurice Roche, Mayor of Cork in 1571. Henry IV, of England, was the first that gave the "forget-me-not" its poetic meaning, by uniting it on his collar of SS. with his watchword, "*souveigne vous de moy*." The mayor's collar of SS. is now composed of gold and precious stones, valued at £1,500.

times sufficient motives to drive the best and most quiet estates into sudden confusion. These will keep all spirits from settling, breed new combinations, *and, I fear, even stir the towns themselves* to solicit foreign aid, with promise to cast themselves into their protection."

These words were penned by this prescient statesman before the citizens of Cork refused to proclaim the new English sovereign, or the citizens of Waterford had closed their gates against Mountjoy. But there were two other serious causes of discontent; and it would be difficult to say to which the people were most opposed; the one was an attempt of the government to force base money into circulation, and the other to press the Protestant religion upon a people who thoroughly detested it, and held it as corrupt as the coinage.

Respecting corrupt and light money, the Deputy writes, "And first, whereas, the alteration of the coyné and taking away the exchange in such a measure as that first promised, hath bred a general grievance to men of all qualities, and so many incommodities to all sorts, that it is beyond the judgment of any I can see, or hear, to prevent confusion in the estate, by the continuance thereof." Speaking of the army, he says, "They not only pay excessive prices for all things, but can hardly get anything for their money." We are convinced that the free circulation of the pure Spanish dollar rendered Philip, King of Spain, very popular in Ireland.

On the subject of religion, the Deputy Mountjoy speaks with as much moderation as we could expect

from a statesman of his time, when the principles of religious liberty were understood, and practised by no party:—"And, whereas, it hath pleased your lordships, in your last letters, to command us to deal moderately in the great matter of religion, I had, before the receipt of your lordships' letters, presumed to advice such as dealt in it, for a time, to hold a more restrained hand therein." He tells their lordships there was a fear that the measures adopted against Catholics, in Dublin, would be practised over the kingdom. He thinks that too great preciseness cannot be used in reforming ourselves, the abuses of our own clergy, our church livings, and discipline; that the gospel cannot be set forth with too much zeal and industry, "and by all ordinary means *most proper unto itself*; that is, set forth and spread in meekness." He does not think that any corporeal persecution, or punishment, can be too severe for such as shall be found seditious instruments of "foreign or inward practices," or that the principal magistrates should be chosen, without taking the oath of obedience, or tolerated in absenting themselves from public divine service; but, he adds, "*we may be advised how we do punish in their bodies, or goods, any such, only for religion, as do profess to be faithful subjects to her majesty, and against whom the contrary cannot be proved.*"

The reader may wish to know more of a man who held opinions so much in advance of his age. Charles Blount, or Lord Mountjoy, was at this time about thirty-five years of age, although he had beaten Hugh O'Neill, and O'Donnell before Kinsale, and supplanted the Earl of Essex, in the court of Elizabeth—a feat of

even greater difficulty and daring. Charles Blount was one of the handsomest cavaliers of his day. He was first noticed by the queen, at Whitehall, in 1585, who asked her lady-carver who was the youth of the graceful stature and agreeable countenance; and was informed he was a learned student at Oxford, and the younger brother of Lord William Mountjoy. The young student heard the whisper, marked the queen's gaze, and blushed to the eyes. Elizabeth gave him her hand to kiss, and said "I saw there was noble blood in thy veins." Some days after she witnessed his success at tilt with Essex, and awarded him a golden chess-queen, richly enamelled, which Charles wore in passing through the royal chamber. Essex, observing the ornament, asked Mr. Fulke Grenville where he got it. "The queen sent it to him after the tilting," was Grenville's reply. "Now I perceive that every fool must have a favor," said Essex. Blount heard the words, and sent the prime favorite a challenge. They met in Marylebone Park. Essex was wounded in the thigh. When the queen heard it, she exclaimed, "By God's death, it's fit and proper some one should take the earl down, and teach him manners, otherwise there would be no ruling him." Charles Blount was too much of a soldier to remain long at the queen's apron string. He broke away, and went to the wars in Flanders. Elizabeth wrote to her general, Sir John Norreys, to send her truant back. He was soundly rated on his return: "Serve me so once more, and I'll lay you too fast for running. You will never leave off till you are knocked on the head, as that inconsiderate fellow, Sidney, was."

The queen appointed Charles Blount, now Lord Mountjoy, to succeed Essex in the government of Ireland. On her mentioning this appointment to Bacon, he replied, "Surely, madam, you cannot make a better choice, unless you send over my Lord Essex." "Essex!" exclaimed the queen, "When I send Essex back into Ireland I'll marry you; claim it of me."

Mountjoy, like Raleigh * and others, addressed the queen, even at the age of seventy, in the language of a lover. Only a few months before her death, and just before the rebellion in Cork, and the writing of the state letter from which we have quoted, he says—"This, most dear sovereign, I do not write with any swelling justification of myself. If any impious tongue do tax my proceedings, I will patiently bless it, that by making me suffer for your sake—I that have suffered for your sake a torment above all others, *a grieved and despised love.*" †

Elizabeth replied in the following strain:—

"O what melancholy humour hath exhaled up into your brain, from a full-fraughted heart, that should breed such doubt, bred upon no cause given by us at all, never having pronounced any syllable upon which

* Raleigh was in the Tower, before he came to Cork, for seducing and marrying Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of the queen's maids of honor. The queen's barge passes under his prison window. He rages and swears that he suffers all "the horrors of Tantalus," and must go through fire or water to see his mistress. His keeper, Sir George Carew, holds him by the collar. He tears off the knight's new periwig, and threatens to dagger him, but after a desperate contest is carried back to his chamber. Here he writes Sir Robert Cecil a letter, which he knows the queen will see.—"How can I bide in prison while *she* is far off? I, who was wont to behold her, *riding like Alexander*, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, like a nymph!"

† *A grieved and despised love.*—Mountjoy had other loves, which were not despised. He seduced the beautiful Penelope, the sister of his rival the Earl of Essex, whom he married after she had been repudiated by her injured husband, Robert, Lord Rich. Mountjoy died in 1606, under forty years of age, an unhappy man, blighted by his passions in the bloom of life and vigor of manhood.

such a work should be framed. There is no louder trump that may sound out your praise, your hazard, your care, your luck, than we have blasted in all our court and elsewhere indeed. Well, I will attribute it to God's good providence for you, that—lest all these glories might elevate you too much—He hath suffered, though not made, such a scruple to keep you under his rod, who best knows we have more need of bits than spurs. Thus, “Valeant ista amara, ad Tartaros eat melancholia. Your sovereign, E. R.”

Mountjoy, who was created Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by a new patent, dated the 18th of April, 1603, within one month after the queen's death, might say, or sing, with one of the Cecils,*

“Now is my muse clad like a parasite,
In party-colour'd robes of black and white,
Grieving and joying too, both these together,
But grieves or joys she most, I wot not whether.
Eliza's dead—that splits my heart in twain;
And James proclaimed—that makes me well again.”

Mountjoy sends Captain Morgan to Cork, the 11th of April, to have the new king properly proclaimed. Sir George Thornton, one of the two commissioners of Munster, applied to Thomas Sarsfield, then mayor, who replied that the charter allowed his taking “time to consider of it.” Sir George replied that the king, who had a just right to the crown, had been proclaimed in Dublin, and that a delay would be taken ill. The mayor replied smartly enough, that Perkin Warbeck had also been proclaimed in Dublin; and that much damage had come of their precipitation. The Chief Justice of Munster, Saxey, who was present,

* *One of the Cecils.*—Both the brothers, Robert and Thomas, got the credit of these lines.

said they should be committed, if they refused. Wm. Mead, the recorder, replied, "There was no one there had authority to commit them." The mayor, and corporation, adjourn to the court-house. Sir George Thornton paces up and down the walk outside, and after a time sends in to know if they have come to a decision.—"No." He waits another hour, and is informed by the recorder, in a passionate manner, that they can give him no answer till the next day. Sir Richard Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork, who was at this time Clerk of the Presidential Council of Munster, requested Mead not to "break out in so unreasonable and choleric a fashion." Mead, who was as smart as the mayor at reply, said, "Though I do not break out, there are several thousands ready to do so." Sir George Thornton requires an account of these words. "Very well," says Mead, "but the city must have three or four days to consult about this ceremony."

The recorder, who appears to have been the ring-leader of the rebellion, employed the time in arming the citizens, and guarding the gates against the admission of his majesty's troops; but "they admitted several Irish, to whom they gave arms." An attempt was also made to seize Haulbowline, which had been but recently fortified. "About this this time,"—January, 1602—writes Stafford, "the Lord Deputie and the Lord President went by boate to an island in the river of Corke, called Halbolin, sixe or seven miles from the citie, which upon view they thought fit to be fortified, being so seated as that no shipping of any burden can pass the same, but under the command thereof. Whereupon direction was given to Paul Ive,

an ingeneere, to raise a fortification there.”—*Pacata Hibernia*, pp. 451, 452.

Boyle gives us the most circumstantial account of this foolish rebellion, which seems to have sprung up without premeditation, and to have proceeded without plan, or any particular object on the part of the leaders.

Sir George Thornton desires the citizens to send, or rather allow some cannon to go from Cork to the relief of Haulbowline. They reply, “We have, as you see, called our brethren together about this business, and we have come to the resolution, that the fort of Haulbowline is a very pestilent impoverishment to our corporation, and therefore think it not meet to suffer any relief to go thither, nor will we.” Are we to conclude from this language, that the corporation were at the expense of finding and maintaining this fort? They say again, “This fort was a needless work, and built in their franchises, without their consent, by the Lord President, [Carew] but not for any good to the city.” They add, that they will “take the fort, and keep possession of it”

Richard Boyle mentions one “Edward Roche, the brother of Dominick Roche, the priest,” and Owen Mac Redmond, a schoolmaster, as taking an active part in this rebellion. “This fellow,” continues Sir Richard, speaking of the schoolmaster, “said it was not known who was King of England. That, to his own knowledge, about seven or eight years ago, there was no other mockery in all the stage plays, but the King of Scots; that no Englishman would abide the government of a Scot; that he was the poorest prince in

Europe; that the President of Munster kept a better table than he."

"Stephen Brown," continues Boyle, "was a great director about the ordnance, as also one Thomas Fagan, who fired a shot at Mr. James Grant, when he was returning to Sir Charles Wilmot, who sent him to the mayor. He had before this stripped Mr. Grant of his clothes, was the first man who put on his head-piece, and seized on the king's stores in the city. He said, for his part, no king should rule him, but such as would give him liberty of conscience. He carried a white rod about the city, and was styled their principal church-warden, and never suffered an Englishman or Protestant to pass by him unabused. He had the impudence to revile Sir Gerald Herbert, because he would not put off his hat, and do reverence to the cross, which he was then carrying about in procession.

"Sir Robert Mead, or Meagh, and John Fitz-David Roche, were two priests who fomented this rebellion. Mead ordered Mr. Apsley, the king's storekeeper, to be killed, and his arms taken away. He also ordered the guard, which he placed on Skiddy's Castle, where the stores lay, to throw Mrs. Hughes, wife to the clerk of stores, over the walls and break her neck. He was the principal stirrer-up of the townsmen to take arms, and not only assisted in every sally to take and destroy the forts, but also drove such as were dilatory with a cudgel to the work.

"John Nicholas, a brewer, was also a cannonier to the rebels, and it was proved against him that he shot two soldiers from the walls; he was assisted by John Clarke, a tanner, from Mallow, who very dexterously

mounted the cannons upon the walls, when none else knew how to do it. He and Nicholas were both Englishmen. It was proved against Edmund Terry, another rebel, that he advised the mayor to take the key of Skiddy's Castle* from Mr. Hughes, the store-keeper, and place the ammunition in Dominick Galway's cellars, and that Hughes should not be suffered to come there without a sufficient guard; all which the mayor complied with. Edward Roche, brother to Dominick Roche, said that the city would fight against the king himself if he came to look for it, and that not only the country, but also the kings of France and Spain would assist them, if he did not give their church free liberty."

Sir Richard Boyle continues, "The mayor and recorder imprisoned Mr. Allen Apsley, commissary of the king's victuals, and Mr. Michael Hughes, clerk of the munitions. The recorder, in person, with a guard, carried Mr. Apsley from his own house to the common gaol, and then distributed the king's stores as he thought proper. They demolished the fort on the south side of the city, in which action they killed and wounded several soldiers. The day before they demolished this fort, the recorder, striking himself on the breast, solemnly swore, at the door of Skiddy's Castle, that if the mayor would not take charge of the king's stores he would presently quit the town for ever, upon which he turned about to the crowd, who huzzaed and applauded him for his speech; then Thomas

* *Skiddy's Castle* stood on the west side of the North Main Street. It was built by John Skiddy in 1445. It was afterwards used as a powder magazine. A rat, saturated with turpentine and set on fire, was killed by a sentinel in passing into the powder vaults. After this, the citizens petitioned to have the magazine removed; the building itself was removed in 1785.

Fagan and Murrough clapped on their head-pieces, and with their swords and targets forcibly possessed themselves of Skiddy's Castle.

"The day before they demolished the fort, the mayor assembled the citizens, and told them, that before forty hours passed, all Ireland would be in arms against the king; that the crown of England should never more recover Ireland. He also wrote several seditious letters to most of the lords and chief men of this province, desiring them to join the citizens in their cause, which was for liberty of conscience.

"The recorder being asked why the king's fort was broken down by the people? answered, it was his act, and that he would justify it; and said it was the act of the whole corporation, and done advisedly, and that they would make it good, saying, 'That the building of that fort cost the queen nothing, it being raised by the citizens,' adding, 'that the worst that could be done, was to make them rebuild it.'

"Several of them publicly abused the commissioners and the king's officers in this province, calling them 'traitors,' 'destroyers of the city and commonwealth,' 'base-born fellows,' 'beggarly companions,' 'yeomen's sons,' all of which was proved on their respective trials. Lieutenant Murrough had the impudence to send Sir Charles Wilmot word, that he was a traitor, and would prove it. His brother had been aide-de-camp to Captain Flower at the siege of Kinsale; but he quitted his colours and deserted to the Spaniards, for which he was afterwards executed."

It only remained for the commissioners to proclaim James the Sixth of Scotland and First of England, out-

side the walls, as they were not allowed to do so inside. Sir George Thornton, accompanied by Lord Roche and supported by eight hundred soldiers, proclaimed the king in the north suburbs, near Shandon Castle, the recorder protesting all the while against such a violation of their "liberties." The commissioners, who appeared to have acted with great moderation, sent to Haulbowline for artillery, when the citizens, under the leadership of William Terry, attempted to intercept them. A scuffle ensued, and several were killed on both sides.

The religious element in this rebellion was paramount. Though a large portion of the inhabitants of Cork were of Danish, Norman, and Saxon descent, they were sincere Catholics, who hoped for the re-establishment of their own faith at the death of the queen. They had not forgotten, though five-and-twenty years had elapsed, that the Protestant bishop had burned the image of St. Dominick at the High Cross of Cork. They now retaliate, by retaking possession of the churches—which they sprinkle in order to exorcise the demon of Protestantism—by burning Protestant bibles and prayer-books; by razing out the ten commandments, and substituting the emblems of their own faith. A number took the sacrament to strengthen them in defence of their religion. A legate from the Pope went through the city in procession with a cross, compelling all he met to bow down to it. They not only fired on Shandon Castle, where Lady Carew lodged, but on the bishop's palace, where the commissioners were assembled; they killed Mr. Rutledge, and wounded a servant of Bishop Lyon, and told him, if

they had his traitor-master, he should not escape with his life. Such language and conduct is indicative of the detestation in which the Protestant religion was held even in the towns where it had been nurtured for half a century.

But this state of things could not be long countenanced in a city like Cork; and the mayor and sheriffs knowing the decided character of the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, wrote him saying, they had received the king's proclamation on the 11th of April, but had put off the ceremony till the 16th, that it might be done with more solemnity. They also requested that the fort of Haulbowline might be put into their hands, and complained that soldiers in that fort had shot at some fishermen and boats which had been sent out for provisions. The commissioners, of course, gave his lordship a very different version of the transaction.

Mountjoy wrote them "a smart letter" in reply, reproving them for "setting up the mass,* by their own authority, their insolence in stopping his majesty's stores and artillery from being sent to Haulbowline, and attempting to get them into their hands. At the same time, his lordship wrote to Sir Charles Wilmot and Sir George Thornton, ordering them to send as much victuals and provisions as they could, out of the city, to that fort, and Shandon Castle; to draw some companies into the town; and informed them, that he had assembled five thousand men to correct their insolences; and that as most of the other towns in the province had committed the like disturbances, he intended

* *Setting up the mass.*—Moryson says they rushed into apparent treason, by "foolishly stopping the king's munitions, and insolently setting up a religion in opposition to authority."

to begin with Waterford, who led the example to the rest."

The following is Dr. Ryland's account of the Lord Lieutenant's visit to Waterford:—"The Lord Deputy Mountjoy, judging that the situation of affairs of the province, required his immediate personal attention, proceeded with a numerous army into Munster, and on the 5th of May, 1603, came to Grace-Dieu, within the liberties of Waterford, and summoned the mayor to open the gates, and receive him and his army into the city. The spirit of rebellion immediately appeared; the gates were shut against him, and the citizens pleaded that, by a charter of King John, they were exempted from quartering soldiers. While the parties were thus engaged, two ecclesiastics, Dr. White and a young Dominican friar, came into the camp; they were habited in the dresses of their order, Dr. White wearing a black gown and cornered cap, and the friar wearing a white woollen frock. When they entered the Lord Deputy's tent, Dr. White commenced a violent religious controversy, 'all of which,' we are told, 'his lordship did most learnedly confute.' He then severely reprehended the conduct of the citizens; *threatened to draw King James' sword, and cut the charter of King John to pieces*; and declared his intention, if they persisted in their obstinacy, to level their city, and strew it with salt. His menaces were effectual; the citizens immediately submitted, and received the Lord Deputy and his army within their walls. They afterwards took the oath of allegiance, renounced all foreign jurisdiction, and, to prevent any future disturbance, a garrison was stationed in the city."

Mountjoy wrote to the Mayor of Cork, from his camp at Grace-Dieu, near Waterford, requesting him "to desist from his practices," saying, if he persevered, he must adopt more severe measures than he willingly would; but many of the citizens, undeterred by this mild threat, were opposed to his admission. Mead, the recorder, strongly opposed it, so did Gould, Fagan, Captain Terry, Lieutenant Murrrough, and "an infinite number of mob;" but Alderman Coppinger, John Coppinger, Alderman Terry, the Galways, the Vernons, and the Martels, insisted that the viceroy should be received within the walls.

He entered Cork on the 11th of May, 1603. The citizens laid plough-shares on each side of the street through which he passed, intimating that the destruction of the growing crops, by the soldiers, had caused so many ploughs to lie idle. As in the fable of the belly and the members, the citizens were at length brought to understand, that their interests were identified with the country. To see the city of Cork, which had been always armed *câp-a-pié* against the country, admitting the Irish within its walls, and laying their idle plough-shares before the eyes of the viceroy, was something new in the history of these times. Smith says "the Lord Lieutenant took little notice of this silly contrivance." We did not expect to find Doctor Smith making so silly a remark. A people's cry for bread should sound in a ruler's ears as the roar of a famished lion. But the Lord Lieutenant did notice it; his letter to the English council, from which we have quoted, contains the prediction of a dearth, which would "breed new combinations, and would stirre the townes

themselves ;” and his mild chastisement of the present rebellion, is something like an admission that the people had great cause for dissatisfaction. Murrough, Butler, and the schoolmaster, Owen Mac Redmond, who had no freeholds, were the only parties executed by martial law. Mead, the recorder, who was the ringleader, was tried by an Irish jury, and acquitted. The grand jury* found true bills against Mead, Richard Gould, and others. Gould pleaded, in justification, before Sir Charles Wilmot, and Sir George Thornton, commissioners, Sir Nicholas Walsh, William Saxey, and George Comerford, justices, the injury he had sustained by being compelled to take the mixed or base money. He proved that the late Lord President’s steward had purchased twenty barrels of wheat for the Lady Carew, which he, Richard Gould, had purchased in France for nineteen shillings a barrel, of good silver money, and that the steward would give him but twenty shillings of the new standard or mixed money. The Cork jury, by whom he was tried and acquitted for the attack on Haulbowline, must have held that such fraudulent conduct was enough to drive any honest trader into rebellion. Mead, the recorder, appears to have had deeper projects in view. He afterwards got a pension from Spain, and went to Naples, where he wrote a treasonable tract, called, “*Advice to the Catholics of Munster*,” a copy of which is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. He died in Naples.

* The grand jury were Owen O’Sullivan, Teige Mac Cormac Carthy, John Taylor, Thomas J. C. Gankrough, Garrett Barry, Joshua Barry, Edmund Barry, Arthur Hyde, Charles Callaghan, William Mellefont, Redmond Magher, Tiege Mac Carthy, John Barry, Garrett Buidhe Barry, and Bryan Mac Sweeny.

CHAPTER II.

RICHARD BOYLE, FIRST LORD COBK.

A.D. 1603—1641.

WE have none of the proper materials of history for either city or county from 1603 to 1641. Sir Arthur Chichester was appointed Deputy to Lord Mountjoy the third of April, 1603. He was a pupil of the Puritan minister, Cartwright, the great opponent of Episcopacy, who used to pray, "O Lord, give us grace and power, as one man, to set ourselves against them"—that is, the bishops.

Sir Henry Beecher was made Lord President of Munster in 1604; he succeeded Sir George Carew, or rather the commissioners, Sir Charles Wilmot and Sir George Thornton, whom Sir George Carew had appointed in his stead. The Catholics began to rebuild their abbeys and monasteries this year; Kilcrea and Timoleague were repaired or re-edified this year. The city and its liberties were separated from the county, and became a distinct barony, in 1605.

Lord Danvers, who, as Sir Henry Danvers, was Lieutenant-General of the Horse to Robert Earl of Essex and Lord Mountjoy, became Lord President of Munster in 1610, in the room of Sir Henry Beecher,

deceased. Edward Legge* was vice-president to Danvers. He made a voyage to the West Indies with Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584.

Sir Oliver St. John was Lord President in 1611, and Sir Richard Moryson, vice-president. Sir Oliver became Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1616, and Donough O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, Lord President of Munster.

The name of Richard, Earl of Cork, frequently occurs about this time. Take the following examples:

“Richard, Earl of Cork, was this year admitted and sworn a free man of the city of Cork. On the 5th of September died Donough, Earl of Thomond, Lord President of Munster, and the Lord Falkland issued out a commission, September 7th, to Henry, Earl of Thomond, the Earl of Desmond, the Earl of Cork, Lord Esmond, or any two of them, for the better government of this province during the vacancy of the presidency, which was supplied by the appointment of Sir Edward Villiers, on the 29th of May.

“During his government the French and Spaniards gave out, that in revenge for the expedition to Rochelle, they would make a descent in Ireland. The forts of Cork and Waterford having been quite neglected, the Earl of Cork lent £500 to the Lord President Villiers, with which these forts were made defensible.

“When Lord Wimbleton arrived at Kinsale, with the king's forces, Lord Cork took ten companies of foot, many of them being weak and wounded, and lodged and dieted them, near three months, *upon his*

* *Edward Legge*. He married Mary, daughter of Pierce Walsh, of Mallow, by whom he had six sons and seven daughters. He was the first Protestant of his family, but most of his children were brought up in the Catholic faith by his wife.
—*Collins' Peer. of England*, v. iii, p. 102.

*tenants.** He supplied the general with £500, and entertained him and all his officers nobly at Lismore."

This remarkable man, as we learn from his autobiography, or True Remembrancer, was born in the city of Canterbury, on the 3rd of October, 1566. His father died when he was but ten years old, in 1576, and a brother in 1586.

"After the decease of my father and mother, I being the second son of a younger brother, having been a scholar in Bennett's College, Cambridge, and a student in the Middle Temple, London, finding my means unable to support me to study the laws in the Inns of Court, put myself into the service of Richard Manwood, Knt., Lord Chief Baron of her Majesty's Court of Exchequer, whom I served as one of his clerks; and perceiving that the employment would not raise a fortune, I resolved to travel into foreign lands, and to gain learning and knowledge and experience abroad in the world. And it pleased the Almighty, by his divine providence, to take me, I may justly say, as it were by the hand, and lead me into Ireland, where I happily arrived at Dublin, on the Midsummer eve, the 23rd day of June, 1588."

He was at this time but twenty-two years of age, with but twenty-seven pounds to begin the world. "When first I arrived in Dublin, the 23rd of June, 1588, all my wealth then was £27 3s. in money, and two tokens which my mother had given me, viz:—a diamond ring, which I have ever since and still do

* *Upon his own tenants.* Smith says, that Sir William St. Leger, who was appointed President of Munster, April 14, 1627, charged all the corporations of the province, except Mallow—where he resided—"with the maintenance of the horse troops under his command."—*His. of Cork*, vol. i., p. 108.

wear, and a bracelet of gold, worth about ten pounds ; a taffety doublet, cut with and upon taffety, a pair of black velvet breeches, laced, a new Milan fustian suit, laced, and cut upon taffety, two cloaks, competent linen and necessaries, with my rapier and dagger.”

Two years after this, there is mention, in a memorandum roll of the Exchequer for 1590, of a certain Richard Boyle as a deputy escheator to John Crofton, the queen’s Escheator General. This was the age of Irish forfeited estates, of which the escheators took cognizance and care. Everything connected with these estates was conducted in the escheator’s office. Sir Thomas More, speaking of English escheators, says, “One should not rail upon escheators, by terming them *all* extortioners.”* Sir John Davis, Attorney-General to King James, speaks thus of Irish deputy escheators:

“These deputy escheators make a suggestion, that they are able to find many titles for the crown, and obtain a commission to enquire for all wards, marriages, escheats, concealments, forfeitures, and the like. If this commission were well executed, and returned, they were good servitors. But what do they do? They retire themselves into some corner of the counties, and in some obscure village, execute their commission ; and there, having a simple or suborned jury, find one man’s land concealed, another man’s lease forfeited for non-payment of rent, another man’s land holden of the *in capita*, and no livery sued, and the like. This being done, they never return their commission, but send for the parties, and compound with

* *All extortioners.* Johnson thinks the verb to *cheat*, is derived from *esch eat* “because of the many fraudulent measures taken in procuring escheats.”

them, and so defraud the crown, and make a booty and spoil upon the country; so that we may conjecture, by what means *one that was lately an escheator's clerk*, is now owner of so much land here, as few of the lords of Ireland may compare with him." The allusion in this passage to Lord Cork cannot be misunderstood.

Richard Boyle is charged—it is true, *eleven years after the alleged offence*—with having practised a cheat before he was appointed to the office of Deputy Escheator. One Henry Deane stated, before the Star-Chamber Court, that Boyle counterfeited a letter from Sir Thomas Kempe to the Constable of Dublin Castle; another from Lady Baker to Mrs. Kenny, the wife of Kenny the escheator for Leinster; and another from Lady Hales to Lady Delves, "whereby he procured much friendship in Ireland." Richard Boyle's or Lord Cork's defence is a very weak one. He acknowledged that a counterfeit letter had been delivered to the Constable, on his behalf, but that he was not privy to it. Who would think of forging a letter without the knowledge of the party interested. "He thinketh there was a letter brought and delivered to the Constable Segar, on his behalf, for so the constable told him. He was never privy or consenting thereto, and doth know the same to be counterfeit."

Again, "As touching these letters, supposed to be counterfeited, he saith he was not at that time above seventeen years old, for it is near eleven years since. Neither, if they had been falsified, was it to the prejudice of the queen's service, or anything concerning her highness, but he never delivered any such."

There may have been nothing in all this to the

prejudice of the queen's service, but much to that of Richard Boyle's honor; perhaps he felt this, for he says he was not above seventeen years old. If this be true, it would have proved a very early development in state-craft; but it was not true, and we cannot imagine how Lord Cork could make such a mistake respecting his own age. If the *True Remembrancer*, penned by himself, does not lie, he must have been twenty-two, and not seventeen, at this time. He was born in 1566, and came to Ireland to seek his fortune in 1588.

He was committed to the Marshalsea in May, 1597, by Chief Justice Gardiner and Sir Henry Wollop, on the charge of stealing a horse and a jewel. There were two other indictments against him. Two out of the four were found. Deane said he got twenty pounds from him not to prosecute. Boyle obtained a crown pardon, which was purchasable in those days.

But he was not only accused of false dealing in procuring friends who helped him to the office of Deputy Escheator, but also of taking unfair advantage of his position for his personal aggrandisement. As Deane appears to have been a sort of hired accuser, and as Lord Cork had enemies in Sir Henry Wallop, Sir Robert Gardiner, and others, we should receive the evidence against him with caution, but some of the statements are of a very circumstantial character.

Richard Boyle had high authority or example for such trafficking in forfeited estates. There were many who did much worse than he—who trafficked in the blood of those whose properties they sought. The following example is from the pen of Fynes Moryson:—

“About this time [1590] Mac Mahown, the chieftain of Monaghan died, who in his life-time had surrendered this his country, held by tanistry, the Irish law, into her majesty’s hands, and received a re-grant thereof under the broad seal of England, to him and his heirs males, and for default of such, to his brother, Hugh Roe Mac Mahown, with other remainders. And this man dying without heirs male, his said brother came up to the state, that he might be settled in his inheritance, hoping to be countenanced and cherished as her majesty’s patentee; but he found, as the Irish say, that he could not be admitted till he had promised to give about six hundred cows, for such and no other are the Irish bribes. Afterwards he was imprisoned, the Irish say, for failing in part of this payment, and within a few days again enlarged, with promise that the Lord Deputy himself would go and settle him in his country of Monaghan, whither his lordship took his journey shortly after, with him in his company.

“At their first arrival, the gentleman was clapt in bolts, and within two days after indicted, arraigned, and executed at his own house; all done, as the Irish said, by such officers as the Lord Deputy carried with him for that purpose. The Irish said he was found guilty by a jury of soldiers, but no gentlemen or freeholders; that four English soldiers were suffered to go and come at pleasure, but the others, being Irish kerne, were kept straight, and starved till they found him guilty.”

It is only fair to hear Boyle’s defence of himself:—

“When God had blessed me with a reasonable fortune and estate, Sir Henry Wallop, of Wares; Sir

Robert Gardiner, Chief-Justice of the King's Bench; Sir Robert Dillam, Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas; and Sir Richard Bingham, Chief-Commissioner of Connaught, being displeased for some purchases I had made in the province, they all joined together by their lies, complaining against me to Queen Elizabeth, expressing that I came over without any estate or fortune, and that I had made so many purchases as it was not possible to do without some foreign prince's purse to supply me with money. That I had acquired divers castles and abbeys upon the sea-side fit to entertain and receive Spaniards. That I kept in my abbeys fraternities and convents of friars in their habits, who said mass continually, and that I was suspected in my religion; with divers other malicious suggestions.

"Whereof, having some secret notice, I resolved to go into Munster, and so into England to justify myself; but before I could take shipping, the general rebellion in Munster broke out, all my lands were wasted. As I might say, I had not one penny of certain revenue left me, to the unspeakable danger and hazard of my life, yet God preserved me, as I reached Dingle, and got shipping there, which transported me to Bristol, from whence I travelled to London, and betook myself to my former chamber in the Middle Temple, intending to renew my studies in the law till the rebellion were passed over.

"Robert, Earl of Essex, was designed for the government of this kingdom, unto whose service I was recommended by Mr. Anthony Bacon, whereupon his lordship very nobly received me, and used me with

favor and grace, in employing me in issuing out his patent and commissions for the government of Ireland, whereof Sir Henry Wallop, treasurer, having notice, and being conscious in his own heart, that I had sundry papers and collections of Michael Kettlewell, his late under treasurer, which might discover a great deal of wrong and abuse done to the queen in his late accounts, and suspecting if I were countenanced by the Earl of Essex, that I would bring those things to light, which might much prejudice or ruin his reputation or estate, although I vow to God, until I was provoked, I had no thought of it, yet he utterly to suppress me, renewed his former complaints against me to the queen's majesty.

"Whereupon, by her majesty's special direction, I was suddenly attacked, and conveyed close prisoner to the Gate-house, all my papers seized and searched, and although nothing could appear to my prejudice, yet my close restraint was continued, till the Earl of Essex was gone to Ireland; two months afterwards, with much suit, I obtained the favor of her sacred majesty, to be present at my answers, where I so fully answered and cleared all their objections, and delivered such full and evident justifications for my own acquittal, as it pleased the queen to use these words, viz., 'By God's death, these are but inventions against the young man, and all his sufferings are for being able to do us service, and those complaints urged to forestal him therein. But we find him a man fit to be employed by ourselves, and we will employ him in our service, and Wallop and his adherents shall know that it shall not be in the power of any of them to

wrong him, neither shall Wallop be any longer our treasurer.'

"Thereupon she directed her speech to her lords in the council then present, and commanded them presently to give her the names of six men, out of which she might choose one to be Treasurer of Ireland. Her election falling on Sir George Carew of Cookington, and then the queen arose from the council and gave orders, not only for my present enlargement but also discharging all my charges, fees, during my restraint, and gave me her royal hand to kiss, which I did, heartily, humbly thanking God for that deliverance."

There may be a great deal of truth in what Boyle says about Kettlewell's papers. There can be no doubt that the Treasurer Wallop was a great enemy of his. Sir John Stanhope, writing to Sir George Carew, Nov. 2, 1602, says "there had been great workings against him, and many means made to put me into it, by telling me that you were weary of him, and would give way to any such course. Now he is come, I am satisfied, not only to deal myself, but to stop any other course against him." Cecil writes to Carew, "Although I have never heard more general imputation thrown upon any man, yet, when it came to the point, I saw no man that could or would object to any particular."

There is one fact, which can be denied by none, and that is, that Richard Boyle came to Ireland with seventeen pounds, a slender wardrobe, a diamond ring and dagger, and died one of the largest landed proprietors in the kingdom. He says his marriage with Mrs. Joan Apsley was the beginning of his fortune; that he got £500 a year in landed property with the lady; but

the True Remembrancer cannot be relied upon even here. His wife's property was but £400 a year, and Sir Richard Bingham, the Governor of Connaught, disputes his right to even this. His first wife, Mrs. Joan Apsley, died in Mallow, the 14th of December, 1599, and was buried in Buttevant church.

He was married to his second wife in 1603. "I returned to Ireland with my Lord President's license, to repair to court. Where in his way to Dublin—where he proposed to embark—he dealt very nobly and fatherly like by me, in persuading me it was high time for me to take a wife, in hopes of posterity to inherit my lands, advising me to make choice of Sir Geoffrey Fenton's daughter, and that if I could affect her, he would treat with her parents to have the match between us, wherein he prevailed so far as the 9th of March, 1602, I was, in his lordship's presence, contracted to her, in her father's house, at Dublin.

"The 25th of July, 1603, I was married to my second wife, Mrs. Catherine Fenton, the only daughter of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, principal Secretary of State, and Privy Councillor in Ireland, with whom I never demanded any marriage portion, neither promise of any, it not being in my consideration; yet her father, after my marriage, gave me a £1,000 in gold, with her; but that gift of his daughter unto me, I must ever thankfully acknowledge, as the crown of all my blessings, for she was a most religious, virtuous, loving, and obedient wife unto me, all the days of her life, and the happy mother of all my hopeful children, whom with their posterity, I beseech God to bless." He was knighted, on the occasion of his second marriage, by Sir

George Carew, who recommended him to purchase Sir Walter Raleigh's Irish estates.

We learn from the following passage when and how he made the acquaintance of Sir George, by whom he was appointed Clerk of the Council of Munster * in 1602 :—

“Being commanded by her majesty to attend court, it was not many days before her highness was pleased to bestow upon me the office of Clerk of the Council of Munster, whereupon I bought of Sir Walter Raleigh his ship, called “The Pilgrim,” into which I took a freight of ammunition and victuals, and came in her myself, by long seas, and arrived at Carrig Foyle, Kerry, where the Lord President and the army were at the siege of that castle, which, when we had taken, I was there sworn as Clerk of the Council of Munster, and presently after made a justice through all that province; and this was the second rise that God gave to my fortune.

“Then, as Clerk of the Council, I attended the Lord President in all his employments, and waited on him during all the siege of Kinsale, and was employed by his lordship to her majesty, with the news of that happy victory, in which employment I made a speedy expedition to the court, for I left my Lord President at Shandon Castle, near Cork, on the Monday morning near two o'clock, and the next day, being Tuesday, I delivered my packet, and supped with Sir Robert Cecil, being then principal Secretary of State, at his house in the Strand; who after supper held me in dis-

* *Clerk of the Council of Munster.*—His commission dates November 16, 1602. The salary was “£20 per annum, and large fees of office.”

course, until two o'clock in the morning, and by seven that morning called upon me to attend him to the court, where he presented me to her majesty, in her bed-chamber, who remembered me, calling me by my name, and giving me her hand to kiss, and telling me that she was glad, that I was the happy man to bring the first news of that glorious victory. And after her majesty had interrogated me upon sundry questions, very punctually; and that therein I had given her full satisfaction in every particular, she again gave me her hand to kiss, and recommended my dispatch for Ireland, and so dismissed me with grace and favour."

He returns to Ireland to his friend the Lord President, who is besieging the Castles of Berehaven and Dunboy. It is on their return to Cork that Sir George proposes to his protegee to purchase Sir Walter Raleigh's property. "He propounded unto me the purchase of all Sir Walter Raleigh's lands in Munster, offering me his best assistance for the compassing thereof, which he really performed, for upon my departure for England he wrote by me two effectual letters, one to Sir Robert Cecil, wherein he was pleased to magnify my service and abilities, and concluding with a request, that he would make intercession with Sir Walter Raleigh to sell me all his lands in Ireland, that were then altogether waste and desolate. To Sir Walter Raleigh he also wrote, advising him to sell me all his lands in Ireland, then untenanted, and of no value to him, mentioning, withall, that, to his lordship's knowledge, his estate in Ireland never yielded him any benefit, but, contrarywise, stood him in £200 yearly for the maintenance and support of his titles. Whereupon

there was a meeting between Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, and myself, where Sir Robert Cecil mediated and concluded the purchase between us; accordingly my assurances were perfected, and this was a third addition and rise to my estate."

This vast property, which was purchased for a mere song, was Sir Robert Boyle's master-stroke. It was this that gave him the standing of an earl. I am indebted to the Duke of Devonshire, who has placed all Lord Cork's papers in my hands, for the following letter to Sir Walter Raleigh's son. The letter is dated January 16, 1631.

"HONOURABLE SIR,

"I received letters from you of the 11th of November, 1630, whereunto I made you a present answer, and in those my letters did represent unto you the infinite trouble and charge that your lady-mother and yourself did undeservedly, without any just grounds, by unnecessary suits, draw upon me when I was in England, which I shall not thoroughly recover these many years. I also tendered to your consideration, how I purchased your father's lands, when they were utterly waste, and yielded him no profit.

"The sum that I and he agreed upon was really paid, whereof I paid him in ready gold, a thousand crowns* sterling after his attainder, when he was a prisoner in the Tower. Which debt of mine to him, being forfeited to his majesty, I made choice (out of my love to him) rather to supply him with all in his extremity, than to accept a composition tendered to

* *A thousand crowns.*—The property consisted of forty thousand acres.

me by Sir John Ramsay, after Earl of Holderness, who, for five hundred marks in ready money, offered to procure me a discharge, under the broad seal, for the debt; yet in regard your father made it appear unto me, that he hoped, so he might be supplied with the thousand crowns, that it would do him more good than a thousand pounds would have done before he fell into his troubles, and much avail towards the procuring of his enlargement; which my affection guided me to make choice of, although it constrained me to tarry two months in London, and to sue out a release from the king for the money, under the great seal, at my own charge, which the fees, with my own stay in London for no other cause, was very expensive and burdensome unto me, it standing me in no less than two hundred pounds sterling.

“Again, upon my purchase from your father, he entered into bonds to me of six thousand crowns—which I have extant under his hand and seal—to free the land, as well from all arrears due to the queen, which amounted to about one thousand marks, as from all other charges and encumbrances made by him, before he conveyed the land unto me. And I am confident, if her majesty’s death and his own troubles had not happened, he would have cleared all those arrears, according to his undertaking, which afterwards I was enforced to discharge, as also to pay (as I can make it evidently appear) other two thousand seven hundred and odd pounds, for freeing the lands from such former estates and incumbrances as your father hath made them liable and subject unto, contrary to his covenant and bond, upon either of which I could

have no remedy against him by reason of his attainder, but by coming to himself, who deeply protested unto me, that he knew of none of those encumbrances when he made his assurance thereof unto me; but that those that were so prejudiced against me and my title, were done by two villains that served him, the one he termed Robert Mall, the other John Meares, the latter of which, in my knowledge, was the most dangerous and wicked imposter that I think did go upon the ground, and I am fully persuaded that he was the firebrand that, by wicked artifices, kindled and nourished the fire of all those causeless suits and troubles, which your mother and yourself, to my unspeakable vexation and charge, drew upon me. But Mr. Marrott, some two days since, told me that he was dead, and therefore I will only conclude with this prayer, God be merciful to his knave's soul, for doubtless he was a very false, dangerous, and deceitful wretch.

"Moreover, sir, I pray believe, for upon the faith of a Christian, it is most true, that your father's last coming into Ireland* cost me above 1,000 marks sterling, whereof I supplied him, in ready money, with 350 crowns, as his several receipts, all written in his own hand, do testify, which are extant with me. Besides the oxen, biscuit, beer, iron, and other wants of his, which I bought and supplied withall. And the very day that he took shipping from Cork, on his last fatal voyage, he did me the honour to dine with me,

* *Last coming to Ireland.*—Sir Walter Raleigh sailed from Cork harbour on his last unfortunate expedition to the West Indies, the 9th of August, 1617. His vessel lay in the river, somewhere between Dundanion and Tivoli. I have been pointed to cedars at Tivoli which tradition says were planted by Sir Walter Raleigh's own hand.

at Sir Randall Clayton's house,* where at the table he let fall some speeches, as if he were not fully furnished for his journey, which I observing, made present means to get him a 100 crowns, in French crowns, which I knew would be current money in any place he should put in to water or victual. And after dinner, he and I withdrawing to a window, I told him I feared that by some speeches he had dropped at the table, he was not sufficiently furnished with monies for his voyage, and thereupon tendered 100 crowns, which he refused to accept of, protesting that I had fully supplied all his defects beyond any hope or expectation, and that if he should be driven into any harbour, or other extremity, he had jewells, which he would sell rather than take any more monies of me, and thereupon called unto him the Lord Barry, the Lord Roche, his son, Watt Raleigh,† Captain Whitney, and divers others who had dined with us, and, taking his son by the hand, told them all that I had kept a continual house for three months together for himself and all his company, and that I had supplied him with several provisions for victualling of his ships, and with 350 crowns in ready money, and also supplied most of his captains in his fleet with monies, and that now I would needs press upon him a hundred pounds in French crowns, which I have no need of,

* *Sir Randall Clayton*.—The Claytons possessed property in this county. Clayton's castle, near Mallow, was besieged and taken in 1642. They lost their Irish estates during the reign of James I. Sir Robert Clayton was appointed by the Corporation of London to escort William, Prince of Orange, from Hanley-on-Thames to the metropolis.

† *Watt Raleigh*.—Watt, is, of course, the contraction for Walter. He was the eldest son. He accompanied his father on this expedition, and was killed in South America. The second son was born in the Tower, and called, we conclude, Carew, after Sir Walter's keeper, Sir George Carew, Lord President of Munster.

nor will not take, for I go from home as well contented as ever man did, and proceeding further with thankful reports and speeches of me.

"He again took his son by the hand and said unto him, 'Watt, you see how nobly my Lord Boyle hath entertained and supplied me and my friends, and therefore I charge you, upon my blessing, if it please God that you outlive me and return, that *you never question the Lord Boyle for anything that I have sold him, for I do lay my curse upon my wife and children if they ever question any of the purchases his lordship hath made of me*, for if he had not bought my Irish land of me, by my fall it would have come to the crown, and then one Scot or other would have begged it, from whom neither I nor mine should have had anything for it, nor such courtesies as now I have received,' and thereupon I accompanied him to the ship-boat, and at my departure he renewed the favors I had done him, and this was the last time that I saw his face.

"And now, sir, when you have taken all this truth into your consideration, let your own heart and conscience be the judge, whether I have valuably and really paid the full price and value for this *waste land* I purchased of him, and whether my usage and demeanour towards him, your deceased father, did deserve such chargeable suits and troubles as for the defence thereof you have put me unto, with this protestation, that the titles I bought of your father, as it then stood, was so full of flaws and imperfections as if I had not, to my infinite charge and travail, procured new letters patents, releases and confirmations from the crown,

and [illegible] the interest I paid for to your father had not enabled me to hold it as now I do.

“ Sir, for conclusion, I am very well satisfied, by good learned counsel, and I think you are of the same opinion, that neither yourself or your mother can either by law or equity recover anything from me, *yet, nevertheless, if you will both join in perfecting such a release as my counsel shall draw up, and I send unto you, and that without any condition*, I will make it appear unto you that I honour and respect those that your noble deceased father hath left behind him ; or if you rather desire to make your pretended right, either in law or equity, to appear before two indifferent and understanding lawyers, that are men of learning and integrity, and that you likewise make it evident unto them what strength and addition of title, or any act your mother and you can do, that may tend to the bettering of your estate, I am very likely to be induced, upon notice from you of the lawyer you will choose, to nominate and join another unto him, to hear and determine your pretences. And so praying you to believe that I have not been so ill-bred to neglect the answering of any noble gentleman’s letters as I esteem you to be, I wish your lady-mother and yourself all happiness, so take leave. From Dublin, 16th of January, 1631.

“ Yours, sir, to command,

“ R. CORKE.”

We cannot say how this correspondence terminated, or whether the dread of a husband’s and a father’s curse deterred Sir Walter Raleigh’s widow and children from further questioning “any of the purchases

his lordship had made," or whether the hope of a *douceur* induced them "to join in perfecting such a release," as his council should draw up. If we were ignorant of the fact, that Boyle had got the property for little or nothing, this letter would lead us to suspect the justice and legality of the purchase.

His lordship got into hot water, and suffered loss, in connexion with the purchase of the Youghal portion of this property. Here he had to do with churchmen, and the Deputy Stafford, who was far more daring, and almost as cunning as himself.

The College of Youghal, a religious house, was founded by Thomas of Drogheda, eighth Earl of Desmond, in 1464, and endowed with property at that time worth £600 a year, which consisted, for the most part, of tithes or church livings. This house enjoyed its property and privileges for some time after the Reformation, but in 1597, Nathaniel Baxter, who was then warden of the college, was required, under a penalty of a thousand marks—for which he was obliged to pass his bond—to resign the place into the queen's hands in forty days. Baxter took advantage of the time to have the college and its livings passed, by letter of attorney, into the hands of Sir Thomas Norreys, then Lord President of Munster. It was next made over on William Jones, of Youghal, who held it in trust for Sir Walter Raleigh, the original undertaker. Jones sold his interest, whatever it may have been, to Sir George Carew, and Sir George Carew to his friend Sir Richard Boyle—we know not for what sum, but he paid dearly in the end, as we shall now see.

Sir Walter Raleigh having been attainted of treason before the deeds and purchase were executed, Richard Boyle had to pay a thousand pounds to the king in order to have this flaw to his title remedied. He obtained his patent in 1604 "for all Sir Walter Raleigh's lands in Ireland," in which this college is particularly mentioned. But he was not at this time aware of the fact that Sir James Fullerton had also obtained a patent from King James, November 7th, 1603, for concealed church lands, which enabled him to claim the lands of Youghal College. But the king had no objection to give patents to both. Boyle was, therefore, compelled to give Fullerton "a sum of money"—we are not told how much—"for his title."

But the purchase of Fullerton's interest could not remove the flaw in his own title. He seems at last to have thought so, for he wrote Sir George Carew to get his kinsman, Doctor Boyle, made warden of the college. The Doctor, who was afterwards Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, let, or made over, the revenues of the college, as a marriage portion on Mistress Fenton, the daughter of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Lord Cork's second wife. We are told that the lady's father insisted particularly on the revenues of this house for her jointure. She obtained a lease of these revenues in fee farm for ever, at a rent of twenty marks yearly. The indenture bears date April 8th, 1605, and makes mention of the "college and all the edifices," the lands of Ballymulcaske, one ploughland near Youghal, the parsonages and rectories of Youghal, Inchiquin, Killeigh, Ichtermurragh, Ardeak, Aglishane, Beaver, or Carrigaline, Moyallow, Newtown, Olehane, and

Aghcaromoe; the parsonages of Miros, Skull, and Killiemuck; the vicarages of Kilmacdonough, Garivoe, and Kileredan, all in this county. The rectory of Aglish, Idronine, in the diocese of Ardfert, with all their advowsons and patronages.

The Earl of Cork illegally possessed himself of various other church lands and benefices, to the utter ruin of Protestant, as well as Catholic clergymen. "No language," says Doctor Ryland, in his History of Waterford, "can describe the deplorable situation of the church—about 1630—several of the bishoprics, among others that of Waterford, were reduced as low as £50 a year; and *the stipend of some of the vicarages were only sixteen shillings per annum.*"

Doctor Atherton was at this time Bishop of Waterford. "It was his duty," says Doctor Ryland, "to commence a prosecution against the Earl of Cork, for the recovery of Ardmore, Lismore, and other lands, formerly, and of right, belonging to the church, but then in possession of that earl. His lordship compounded for the lands of the See of Waterford, by giving back Ardmore to the church, but Bishop Atherton suing for the remainder, and being well qualified, by his talents and spirit, to go through with the suit, fell, as there is too much reason to think, a sacrifice to that litigation, when he suffered for a pretended crime of a secret nature, made felony in that parliament, upon the testimony of a single witness, that deserved no credit, and who, in his information, pretended that the crime had some time before been committed upon himself. The bishop, during all the time of his most exemplary preparation for death, *and even at the*

moment of his execution, is stated to have absolutely denied the fact, and the fellow who swore against him, when he came to be executed himself, some time after, confessed at the gallows, the falsehood of his accusation. Atherton was executed on the 5th of December, 1640."

As this language contains the most serious implication, or charge, ever made on Lord Cork's character, or that could be made against the character of any one—namely, the compassing of the death of an innocent man, and that man a bishop—we regret that Doctor Ryland has not furnished us with the evidence on which the charge rests.

The Irish Deputy, Lord Falkland, was called over to England in 1629,* on which occasion the sword of state was committed to the Lord Chancellor Loftus, and the Earl of Cork, as Lords Justices. They were sworn in on the 26th of October, 1629. It was during their administration, says Smith, that "several popish houses were seized in Dublin for the king's use." Not altogether for the king's use—Cork House, for example, on the side of Cork Hill, on which the church of St. Mary stood, was for the use of one Richard Boyle. This establishment was first demised to Sir George Carew for the annual rent of six marks nine shillings, Irish. It afterwards passed into the hands of the Earl of Cork, who has given his name, or title, to the hill on which it stood.

The Earl of Cork, writing to Viscount Dorchester,

* In 1629. This year is famous for the Battle of the Stars. "All of a sudden an infinite multitude of stars," like a dark cloud, passed over the city. They were observed to fight furiously for several hours. Great numbers fell to the ground quite dead.

says, "These locusts were also assembled in the city of Cork, being very numerous, and have set up their several orders and convents, wearing their particular habits." He desires that the President of Munster, Sir William St. Leger, should be directed to follow in Cork the example of the Lords Justices in Dublin.

The Lords Justices the Earl of Cork and the Chancellor Loftus, delivered up the sword of state to Lord Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, who was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in January, 1631. The Earl of Cork became Lord High Treasurer of Ireland in the same year. He addressed the following letter to the Lord Treasurer of England, when he heard he had been superseded in his office as one of the Lords Justices. Conceal it as he will, he saw an enemy in Lord Wentworth, and apprehended the coming storm—conscience makes cowards of us all; and he had much in the shape of church and escheated property upon his conscience, of which Wentworth and Laud were anxious to see him disburdened:—

"RIGHT HONORABLE AND MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD,

"I gladly understand that his majesty, in his high wisdom, hath made choice of the Lord Viscount Wentworth to be Lord Deputy General of Ireland, of whose nobleness, wisdom, and plentiful estate, I heard much when I was at court, whereof reports hath made an addition from thence, since he was designed for this government, which I shall, with all alacrity, yield up unto him, as I am confident in general tranquillity, having a full heart, full of comfort, in that a nobleman of his abilities and reputation, with so full and absolute power, shall govern us.

“And now I beseech your lordship to give me leave to put you in mind, that the services I have performed, and the endeavours I have used for the advancement of his majesty’s affairs, have principally received encouragement from your lordship, to whom, from time to time, I have carefully given an account of my proceedings, as I shall ever acknowledge a great and perpetual obligation to your lordship, for preferring me to the office of High Treasurer * here, so, also, for the good words I understand you have constantly given, as well in public as private, of my services and travails.

“I doubt not that your lordship best understands that by how much the more I have dealt cordially and sincerely in the king’s affairs, I have privately contracted to myself the more enmity and emulation, hoping it will not be conceived the least against a sincere and loyal servant, that when I found myself disenabled to perform those services for my master, that I desired, and might justly be expected, through the great oppositions and contestations raised against me, I humbly desired that, with his majesty’s good grace and favor, I might be freed from this joint government, and give place to one more powerful and able, and of greater credit in court, to pass through his majesty’s business, free from opposition, which, in discharging my duty, I could not do.

“I am also much comforted that his majesty’s free election (though I am a stranger and unknown to him) hath fallen on the Lord Wentworth, who, the sooner

* *Perfecting me in the office of High Treasurer.* He was not sworn in till the November of this year.

he arrives the better shall he be welcome unto me, being more than hopefully assured that your lordship will be constant to your own favors, and that you will vouchsafe to take upon yourself some part of the cares, that I may be delivered over to my successor, for the man which I truly am to his majesty and his services, and that those who are my maligners, only for the discharging the commands of his majesty, your lordship, and the rest of the council, according to the duty of my place, may not have power to insinuate or settle any prejudice of opinion in his lordship against me; wherein I shall be the more secured of the Lord Wentworth's own virtue and instinct if it may be furthered with your lordship's noble advice and commendations, which favor, I presume, I may in some sort claim as merit, for that I have these two years and a half served the king, my master, faithfully and laboriously, with an upright heart and clean hands, and have neglected my own estate, and spent of my own over above four thousand crowns,* for which I expect no other retribution than grace and good acceptance.

"I humbly beseech your lordship to believe, that you cannot place your favors upon a more thankful subject than on your lordship's most humble and faithful servant. Dublin, 5th March, 1631.

" R. CORK."

The Earl of Cork's first dispute with Lord Wentworth was respecting his wife's tomb, which he had set up in Saint Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, and which my Lord Deputy "was resolute to pull down," of which Lord Cork, in writing to Sir William Beecher

* *Four thousand crowns.* His income was £100 a month.

from Dublin, 20th March, 1633, says, "I'd rather have my left hand cut off." He writes and sends his son to Land, Archbishop of Canterbury. Wentworth also writes. Laud, who is a high-churchman, writes to the Lord Primate of Dublin, a friend of Lord Cork. "The information here was, that his lordship had got up his monument at the east end of the choir, just in the place where the altar or communion table stood, a place most unfit for such a purpose, and not offered, for ought I know, to be taken by any king in Christendom, and therefore most unfit for a subject." Laud, in the end, says it may stand if screened off from the choir, but adds, "I can hardly believe my lord had good council to put it there."

There it stands to the present day. It is thus described by a modern writer:—"In the choir are many monuments. That of the first Earl of Cork and several members of his family, which is placed on the right side of the altar, is an unsightly pile of black stone, of antiquated sculpture, with ornaments of wood, painted and gilt, exhibiting sixteen unconnected figures, representing as many individuals of the family." We conclude, from the above extract, that it must be a fac-simile of the monument in St. Mary's of Youghal.

Whether Wentworth, who resolved to pull down the monstrosity, was nettled at its being allowed to stand, we know not, but the next year he summoned Lord Cork to appear before him in the High Court of Castle Chamber—in Wentworth's time, a sort of Irish Star Chamber—in Dublin, to answer the Attorney-General, Sir William Reeves, who laid serious charges against him, for gaining and keeping illegal possession of the

college and revenues of Youghal. Charges were also made against the Bishops of Cork* and Waterford for aiding and assisting Lord Cork, and for procuring and retaining him in the illegal possession of this property.

The Earl of Cork is taken by surprise, and not having his papers in Dublin, where he was then residing, asks for time, and pleads his privilege, "it being parliament time." The suit is put off till next term, when the earl produces his leases, deeds and patents. Lord Wentworth, after hearing the defence, adjourned the court, and sent a message to Lord Cork, to say, that if he submitted his case to him he would prove the best friend he ever had. Lord Cork, seeing no wiser course, agreed to abide by the Lord Deputy's decision, who fined him fifteen thousand pounds in lieu of the rents and profits of the Youghal College property, which he had drawn, and deprived him of all the advowsons and patronages—of everything, with the exception of the college-house and some fields or demesnes near Youghal.

The earl was never so "done" in all his life. This decision was apples and nuts to Laud, who writes Wentworth, November 15, 1633—"My lord, I did not take you to be so good a physician as you are for the truth; a great many church cormorants have fed so full upon it that they are fallen into a fever, and for that no physic is better than a vomit, if it be given in time, and therefore you have taken a very judicious course to administer one so early to my Lord Cork. I hope it will do him good, though, perchance, he thinks

* *The Bishop of Cork* was Richard Boyle, cousin to the earl. Smith says, "he repaired more ruinous churches, and consecrated more new ones," in 1620, than any other bishop of his time. He died, March 19th, 1644.

not so, for if the fever hang long about him, or the rest, it will certainly shake either of their estates in pieces. Go on, my lord; I must needs say this is *thorough*,* indeed, and so is your physic, too, for a vomit never ends kindly that does not work both ways, and that is *thorough*."

But Lord Cork has his revenge, and a fearful revenge it is, on the Lord Deputy. He is summoned by the English House of Commons to give evidence as it regards Strafford's Irish mal-administration. "Though," says the Earl of Cork, "I was prejudiced in no less than £40,000 and 2,000 marks a year"—the truth now comes out respecting the value of at least the Youghal portion of Sir Walter Raleigh's property or "waste lands"—"I put off my examination for six weeks." Smith says, "He was so generous as to put it off." But it comes on at last, and he is, if we are to believe himself, "so reserved in his answers, that no matter of treason could, by them, be fixed upon the Earl of Strafford." It is true that he tells of his having taken from himself several inappropriate rectories, and in particular that of Martalstown in Tipperary, which he gave to Arthur Guynn, his lordship's coachman's groom, who was inducted into the living; but this was a trifle.

Strafford, in his reply to Lord Cork's charge, confines himself to Youghal, and acknowledges that he deprived the earl of church property of "great value, which Lord Cork had unlawfully acquired." Lord

* *Thorough*. Lord Macaulay says that Wentworth was the first to use this word *thorough*. The word occurs in Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*. We conclude, from Laud's play upon the word, that it was a favorite term with Strafford.

Cork is "very much irritated." This "smart rejoinder turned out to be very prejudicial to the Earl of Strafford's cause, who soon after was brought to the scaffold." Lord Cork's diary contains the following note of his death:—"This day the Earl of Strafford was beheaded. No man died more universally hated, or less lamented by the people."

The Earl of Strafford, with all his faults, was a far nobler and a better man than the Earl of Cork. He was a bold and most tyrannical administrator, but seems to have followed his own convictions; his political economy was not very sound, but he saw far enough to discover, that the best way to enrich the king was to begin by enriching the people. Ireland owes its best and almost its only trade or manufacture to the Earl of Wentworth. He expended in one year £1,000 in importing a superior description of flax* into this country. It was thus the foundation of the linen trade was laid, which he ventured to predict would prove a great boon to the country. He will be always held in the remembrance of the nation, for his courage and faithful adhesion to his unfortunate master, Charles I., who was weak enough to sign the bill of attainder at the request, it is true, of his faithful friend and minister.

"Strafford hearing of Charles' irresolution and anxiety, took a very extraordinary step; he wrote a letter, in which he entreated the king, for the sake of public peace, to put an end to his unfortunate, however innocent, life, and to quiet the tumultuous people,

* *Flax.* Sir John Clotworthy, one of the Puritan members of the long parliament, the second witness against Strafford, charged him, in his examination, April 15, 1641, with coercing the Irish to manufacture flax in a way unknown to them, with erecting looms and creating a monopoly in the linen yarn trade.

by granting them the request for which they were so importunate. In this (added he), my consent will more acquit you to God than all the world can do besides. To a willing man there is no injury. And as, by God's grace, I forgive all the world, with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to my dislodging soul, so, sir, to you I can resign the life of this world, with all imaginable cheerfulness, in the just acknowledgment of your exceeding favours."

The king took him at his word, which, it must be confessed, both surprised and startled the imprisoned nobleman, and induced him to exclaim, in the words of scripture, "*Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation.*" He was beheaded on Tower Hill, the 12th of May, 1641. His discourse on the scaffold, says Hume, "was full of decency and courage. He said he feared the omen was bad for the intended reformation of the state, that it commenced with the shedding of innocent blood." Having bid adieu to his brother and friends, he added, "Now I have done. One stroke will make my wife a widow, my dear children fatherless, deprive my poor servants of their indulgent master, and separate me from my affectionate brother, and all my friends! But let God be to you, and them, all in all!" While disrobing, and preparing for the block, he said, "I thank God that I am nowise afraid of death, nor am daunted with any terrors; but do as cheerfully lay down my head at this time, as ever I did when going to repose!"

The second chapter of that beautiful and most remarkable book, the EIKON BASILIKE, or Picture of
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Kings, supposed, on good authority, to have been written by Charles during his imprisonment, contain the following reflections on the character and death of the Earl of Strafford :—

“I looked upon my Lord of Strafford as a gentleman, whose great abilities might make a prince rather afraid than ashamed to employ him in the greatest affairs of state. For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors, and many enemies; whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a sphere, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs, as the sun, raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular odium, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit and integritie.

“Though I cannot, in my judgment, approve all he did, driven, it may be, by the necessities of times and the temper of that people, more than led by his own disposition to any height and rigour of actions, yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousnesse in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of justice and malice of his enemies.

“I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, than in the business of that unfortunate earl; when between my own unsatisfiedness in conscience, and a necessitie, as some told me, of satisfying the importunities of some people, I was perswaded by those that I think wished me well, to choose rather what was safe than what seemed just; preferring the outward peace of my kingdoms with men, before that inward exactnesse of conscience with God.

“And indeed I am so farre from excusing or denying that compliaunce on my part, for plenary consent it was not, to his destruction, whom, in my judgment, I thought not, by any clear law, guilty of death; that I never bare any touch of conscience with greater regret, which, as a sign of my repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and man, as an act of so sinfull frailtie that it discovered more a fear of man than of God, whose name and place on earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of state, by acts of so high injustice as no public convenience can expiate or compensate.

“I see it a bad exchange to wound a man’s own conscience, thereby to salve state sores; to calm the storms of popular discontents by stirring up a tempest in a man’s own bosome.

“Nor hath God’s justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to show the world the fallacie of that maxime, *better one man perish, though unjustly, than the people be displeased*, or destroyed. But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive me that act of sinful compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon me than any man. Since I had not the least temptation of envy or malice against him, and by my place should, at least, so farre have been a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.”

The king concludes with the following beautiful prayer, where he employs the language of the royal psalmist in the confession of his sin in the case of Uriah:—

“O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, and my sinne is ever before me. Deliver me from blood-

guiltiness, O God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousness. Against thee have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight; for thou sawest the contradiction between my heart and my hand."

He asks in another part of this admirable book, "Was it in ignorance I suffered innocent blood to be shed, by a false pretended way of justice? O no, but with shame and grief I confesse that I therein followed the persuasions of worldly wisdom, forsaking the dictates of a right-informed conscience." Just before this pious monarch laid his head upon the block, he observed that the unjust sentence on Strafford, which he had suffered to take effect, was then punished by an equally unjust sentence upon himself. We do not envy the Earl of Cork his triumph over this unfortunate nobleman.

CHAPTER III.

CIVIL WAR IN THE COUNTY CORK.

A.D. 1641—1650.

A CONQUERED and an oppressed people require only the opportunity to arise and cast off their chains, and avenge themselves on their oppressors. The English civil war afforded this opportunity to the Irish, and it was promptly embraced. There was some indiscriminate slaughter of the English in the north, but not to the extent that Irish Protestants imagine. In the south it was *civil war*, which lasted from 1641 to 1650.

The Irish civil war differed from the English by the addition of a third and a fourth party. We had the Royalist and Parliamentary parties, as in England, and along with these a great Irish party which we may style the Loyal Catholic Confederation, from whose bosom sprang the Ultramontane party, at whose birth both the Irish Royalist and Catholic Confederate perished, leaving the English parliamentary party in possession of the field.

The objects of the great Catholic Confederation were two-fold—to protect the English throne and the Catholic religion. The following oath was taken by all the members:—

“I, A. B., do profess, swear, and protest before God and his saints and angels, that I will, during my life, bear true faith and allegiance to my sovereign lord, Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and to his heirs and lawful successors; and that I will to my power, during my life, defend, uphold, and maintain, all his and their just prerogatives, estates, and rights, the power and privilege of the parliament of this realm, the fundamental laws of Ireland, the free exercise of the Roman Catholic faith and religion throughout this land; and the lives, just liberties, possessions, estates, and rights of all those that have taken, or shall take, this oath, and perform the contents thereof.

“And that I will obey and ratify all the orders and decrees made, and to be made, by the supreme council of the *Confederate Catholics* of this kingdom concerning the said public cause; and I will not seek, directly or indirectly, any pardon or protection for any act done, or to be done, touching this general cause, without the consent of the major part of the said council; and that I will not, directly or indirectly, do any act or acts that shall prejudice the said cause, but will, to the hazard of my life and estate, assist, prosecute, and maintain the same.

“Moreover, I do farther swear, that I will not accept of, or submit unto, any peace made, or to be made, with the said *Confederate Catholics*, without the consent and approbation of the general assembly of the said *Confederate Catholics*; and for the preservation and strengthening of the *association* and *union* of the

kingdom, that upon any peace or accommodation to be made or concluded with the said *Confederate Catholics*, as aforesaid, I will to the utmost of my power, insist upon and maintain the ensuing propositions, until a peace, as aforesaid, be made, and the matters to be agreed upon in the articles of peace be established and secured by parliament. So help me God and His holy gospel."

This great Irish party was under the superintendence of the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, which appointed four generals for the respective provinces — Owen Roe O'Neill for Ulster, Barry for Munster, Preston for Leinster, and Burke for Connaught. The Irish royalists were represented by, and fought beneath, the standard of the Marquis of Ormond. The extreme Catholic, or ultramontane party, was under the direction of Rinuccini, Archbishop and Prince of Fermo, in the quality of Nuncio. The parliamentarians, at that time an extreme Protestant and Anti-Catholic party, were under the direction of the Earl of Cork and his family.

The first intelligence received in the south, of the outbreak or rising which commenced in the north, in the October of 1641, was communicated to Lord Cork, who was dining with his son-in-law, the Earl of Barrymore. His son, Lord Broghill, and the Lord of Muskerry,* were also present. They were at dinner when a gentleman entered, pale as death, with dispatches,

* *Lord of Muskerry*, i.e. Donough Mac Carthy, the son of Oge Mac Carthy, who was a student at Oxford when his father made his escape from Carew, who held him prisoner in Shandon Castle. See vol. i., p. This Lord Muskerry was created Earl of Clancarty, by Charles II., in 1558. The Trenches, who are descended from Elena, daughter of the Oxford student, now bear the title of Clancarty.

and begged to speak with my Lord Cork in private. He informed the earl that the Irish were in arms, from Leinster to Clonmel ; and that they were perpetrating horrible outrages on the English. His lordship, who was perfectly cool, requested the gentleman to sit down to dinner. He opens the dispatches, which consist of proclamations, warning the English to be on their guard.

The Lord of Muskerry, who is one of the confederate Catholics, and has a commission from King Charles in his pocket, to raise 4,000 men in Munster, makes light of it, and calls it some ridiculous report, for which there is no foundation. The Earl of Cork does not know what to think, but before returning to Lismore, sends the news to the Lord President, Sir William St. Leger, who is residing at Doneraile. The next report is that the Lord of Muskerry is up in arms, at the head of several thousand Irish rebels. Lord Cork and his sons, and we regret to say Doctor Smith, call the Irish loyal confederates, in whose ranks were the first Anglo-Norman and Irish noblemen in the kingdom, "rebels." The Lord President St. Leger, who has a sincere love for the king, and who is ignorant that Lord Muskerry is acting under his instructions, collects his forces to oppose the Irish rising. He takes a position at Redshard, a pass from the county Limerick to the county Cork, at the eastern end of the Ballyhoura mountain. Hearing that the enemy are in full march to meet him, he draws up in order of battle, and waits their onset.

An Irish trumpeter, accompanied by Walsh, a lawyer, issue from the pass, and demands a parley

with the Lord President. The noblemen and gentlemen who surround St. Leger, are astonished to behold a man of "parts and education," like Walsh, issuing from the rebel camp. Walsh informs St. Leger that they have the king's commission for what they do, and that if he gets a safe conduct, he will show him the commission, under the great seal. St. Leger is thunderstruck. If this be true, it is he, and not my Lord Muskerry, who is in rebellion. Lord Broghill says it is a stratagem of Lord Muskerry to amuse them. Walsh gets the safe conduct, and returns the next day with a large parchment, containing a formal commission, having the broad seal affixed, directing Lord Muskerry to raise four thousand men for his majesty's service in the county. St. Leger peruses the document, returns it to Walsh, whom he dismisses, and then says to my Lords Dungarvan, Broghill, and Kinalmeaky,* the sons of the Earl of Cork, "My Lord of Muskerry has a commission for what he does. I will dismiss those men and act no farther. I would die rather than be a rebel." This was worthy of St. Leger. He disbanded his forces, although Lord Broghill, who held with the English parliament, insisted that it was a "cheat."

The Irish royalists, or Irish loyal Catholics, then under the command of Lord Mountgarret,† marched from the Ballyhoura mountain to Buttevant, and from Buttevant to Mallow, where General Barry, who had

* *Kinalmeaky*, from *Ceann-neal-meacon*, "The head of a noble root."

† *Lord Mountgarret*, i. e., Richard Butler. He was a descendant of the eighth Earl of Ormond. He married Margaret, daughter of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone. His son, Edmund, married the daughter of Lord Castlehaven, general of the Irish army, of whom we shall speak by and bye.

served in the Spanish army, assumed the command of the army of Munster, to which he had been nominated by the Irish Confederate Council. Lord Barrymore, in a letter to Lord Cork, dated February 17, 1642, says, the Irish offered him the chief command. We require better authority than his own word for this. "But," he adds, "I will first take an offer from my brother [in-law] Dungarvan, to be hangman general at Youghal." This office might have better suited a man who hung "forty-three notable rebels for a breakfast." Lord Cork calls Lord Barrymore "the oldest colonel in the province."

Mallow had two castles, the property of the Jephsons, who were at this time* great parliamentary men and great Cromwellians. Sir William Jephson, the eldest son of Sir John, moved in the house that Cromwell be offered the crown.† One of these castles, the picturesque ruins of which still adorn Sir Denham Norreys' demesne, was under the command of Arthur Bettesworth, and had a garrison of two hundred men. The other, called Short Castle, and in Irish, Castle Gan, was in charge of Lieutenant Richard Williamson. The latter place was besieged by and surrendered to Major Purcell, who was serving with the loyal

* *At this time.* The Norreys, from whom the Jephsons were maternally descended, were most special favorites with Queen Elizabeth, who writes to Lady Norreys, on the death of one of her sons—"My own dear Crow, nature can have stirred no more dolorous affection in you, as a mother, for a dear son, than the grateful memory of his services past hath wrought in us, his sovereign." Lady Norreys was called a "crow," from the darkness of her hair. Her husband told the queen that the rumour of their son's death had made the crow's heart as black as her feathers.


† *Offered the crown.* When Cromwell asked him why he had made such a motion, Jephson replied, in the Cromwellian style, "As long as I have the honor to sit in parliament, I must follow the dictates of my conscience." "Get thee gone for a mad fellow," says Oliver, with a slap on the shoulder.—*Hume's History of England*, vol. vii. p. 261.

confederates. Smith tells the following anecdote of Williamson, but does not mention his authority: —

“After Lieutenant Williamson had surrendered the Short Castle, he went into a public-house, with some of his men, and a few of the Irish, to drink. He had not sat long, when an Irish officer entered the room with another man, who laid down a block and a large sword, which apparatus startling Williamson, he asked what they were for, and was answered, to strike off his and his men’s heads; which was no sooner spoke, but Williamson snatched up the sword, with his left hand, took hold of the Irish officer by the hair, and drew him to the very walls of the other castle,* not far distant, where he gave him some kicks, and, letting him go, entered the castle with his men.”

Mr. Clayton’s castle, near Mallow, was taken—after some hard fighting—and its garrison, of twenty-four men, put to the sword. Mr. Bettesworth’s house was also seized, and the royal confederate troops quartered there. In one of the four manuscript volumes of “*Depositions, concerning the Murders and Robberies Committed in the County of Cork,*” now deposited in Trinity College Library, we find Mr. Bettesworth stating his losses at £2,279. William Kingsmill, of Ballybeg, deposes that he lost property to the amount of £7,242 12s. 1d. James Baldwin, of Ballyhay, in the barony of Fermoy, who makes his mark, I. B., lost to the value of £58 8s. “John Brice, of Cahirduggan, in the county of Cork, taylour, deposeth and saith, that on or about the 11th

* *The other castle*—the ruins of which stand on the banks of the Blackwater, within Sir Denham Norreys’ demesne. This noble pile was raised by one of the Earls of Desmond.

of February last past, he lost, was robbed, and forceably despoiled, of his goods, and chattells, *and debts*, to the value of 19s. 6d." Sir Robert Tirrell, late of the barony of Small, county of Cork, knight," lost to the value of £1,786. Dina Holland, a "Brittish Protestant," wife of John Holland, of Enniskcene, in the parish of Kineagh, "deposeth, on the part of her husband, now sick, that he was robbed to the amount of £59." Dina makes "her marke," and a queer mark it is. Those Protestants had no idea of writing. Mary Berry, widow and relict of Richard Berry, of Gaggen, in the parish of Ballymoody, deposeth to the loss of eight cowes, fower yong heffers, one mare and colt, to the value of £25, with oats, wheat, and rye, value eight pounds, and four pounds in ready money. Mary's name and mark are arranged thus: "Mary M. B. Berry's mark." Thomas Bulmar's "mke" or marke, is a B on its back, thus, , which looks like two bee-hives. Simon Lightfoot, of Kinsale, who lost "goods and chattells" to the amount of £141, signs himself "Symon S. L. light foote." Joane Crews, late of Mawlare, county of Corke, wid., "was robbed of £73, *and her husband*, "because he had a fowling piece in his hand." Joan Law, a widow of Donowraile," lost property to the value of £16 8s., including "three fowling pieces and fortie shillings." John Egan, of Mayallow—Mallow—makes his mark, and says he lost £35. Lawrence Spenser, in the barony of Kinalmeaky, in the county of Cork, yeoman, was robbed of £220 5s. Lawrence Spenser makes his mark. Was this a descendant of the poet? We have also, in the deposition numbered 2,353, the name of Robert Milton. The

last name is that of Thomas More, written thus: "THOMORE, a Bryttysh Protestante," of Kiltalloon, who was robbed to the amount of £814, and £15 ~~in~~ *debts*. The parties making these depositions very frequently seek compensation for debts.

There are about two thousand of these depositions in the four volumes relating to the county of Cork, the whole of which I have read. They are nearly all drawn up in the same way, as if from a printed form. Some part of nearly every deposition is *crossed* out; in other instances the pen has been drawn through the lines or words. The sums claimed are generally from £50 and upwards, but a few descend to shillings, like John Brice, the taylour, of Cahirduggan, who was despoiled to the amount of 19s. 6d. The depositions are all dated 1642, and are for the most part signed—in the left hand corner—by either Phil. Brisse, Ro. Southwell, Thos. Graye, Hen. Rugey, Thomas Ellwell, or Jam. Wallis. We give the following as a specimen:—

DEPOSITION No. 1737.

"Anthony Kingsmill, Clarke, lately of Moyallo, in ye Countie of Corke, deposeth and saith that near about Christmas last past and by means of this recent rebellion in Ireland, he hath lost, was robbed, and forseably despoyled of his goods and means, to the generall valews following—viz., of debts due from Cormaske Mac Carthy, of Court Breckie, in ye Countie of Cork, who was actually in rebellion, Lieutenant of Blarney Castle, the Chiefe Lorde of Muskerie; and due from Walle, of Wales Town, in the Countie of Corke and Barony of Fermoy, who was lately in actual rebellion, and for the same hath had his castle of Walestowne dimolished and was himself taken prisoner. The losses amounteth to ninetie one poundes and fower shillings. Lastly this depo.^{nt} deposeth

that this yeare and ye last in his ecclesiasticall meanes he hath sustained ye losse of one hundred poundes, by me

" ANTHONIA KINGSMILL.

" *Jurat coram nobis,*

" 15^o. *F.buis*, 1642.

" HEN. RUGGEY,

" THOMAS ELLWELL."

Temple says, that while the Irish remained about Mallow they consumed no less than 50,000, others say 100,000, sheep, and a great quantity of other cattle, the property of the English. General Barry hovered for some time about Cork, while other portions of the Irish army advanced upon Lismore, which was under the care of Lord Broghill, the ablest of Lord Cork's sons. He writes his father thus:—

" MY MOST NOBLE LORD,

" Yesterday morning I had intelligence that two colours of the enemy were on this side Ballyduff, killing and rifling all the English, which made me draw out thirty foot and thirty horse, with Captain Brodrick, who would needs accompany me. When I came to Ballygarron, I espied two troops of horse and advanced towards them, which, when they saw, they sent two light horse down the glen, towards the river, to call up their foot—their horse retired into a lane—whereupon I made a stand, and would have had our musqueteers to have poured in upon them, and made them come into good ground to have charged them with my horse, but before we could effect this there came up to their horse a body of 800 foot, well armed with pike and gun, and also a troop of sixty horse, out of a wood. We staid till the foot came within musket

shot, at random, and then I retreated some 100 paces, to a good plot of ground, to have drawn their horse from their foot, but they advanced towards us, all together, which made Captain Brodrick, Hodge Power and I, think it best to retreat; but first we made a stand of *half a quarter of an hour*, and gave them a flourish with our trumpet, which done, we came as fast as foot could fall to Lismore, which they sent me word they would lie in this night; but I will never believe them till I see it, nor care for them when they are here." The letter is dated "Lismore, Feb. 17, 1642."

We glean the following from a letter to Lord Duncarvan, dated Feb. 20, 1642:—Mr. Richard Butler,* brother to the marquis, with four colors, had passed the Blackwater. Lord Broghill sent out scouts to know who they were. An Irish officer, named Captain Fennel, rode out of the ranks and informed them; and at the same time, gave a challenge to any cavalier in Broghill's army. An officer named Michael Jones, of great personal courage, rode out to meet him. They cross swords, the Irish horseman retreats upon his foot, Jones follows and has his horse shot under him. Dowling, a friend of Jones, seeing three men in ambush, calls him back; but while in the act of wheeling round his own horse, is mortally wounded, and falls out of the saddle. Jones endeavours to place his dying friend on horseback, but fails. Lord Broghill sends out a trumpet for the corpse, who receives reply that "Dowling was not yet dead." The body is sent in

* Mr. Richard Butler of Killoah, brother to James, Marquis of Ormond. He was a lieutenant-general in the Irish army. He married Lady Frances Touchet, sister to the Earl of Castlehaven.

the next morning. Broghill adds, "It was his father's old fowler, Travers, that shot him."

Lord Broghill, who tells the story about Captain Fennell, gave a challenge himself, which he did not wait to redeem. Lord Castlehaven, a general in the Irish Confederate army, had taken Cappoquin and Dromana,* when a trumpeter approached to say that my Lord Broghill was on the great Coney Warren, near Lismore, where he should be glad to meet him. Castlehaven immediately marched towards my lord, "but upon coming near, my lord drew off and marched away."—*The Earl of Castlehaven's Memoirs*, p. 80.

The protection and government of Bandon was committed to Lord Kinalmeaky, another of the Earl of Cork's sons. Cork, Youghal, Kinsale, and Bandon, were the only towns in the county in the hands of the parliament party. As Bandon was a walled town, many fled to it for protection; a number of the English settlers from Clonakilty sought the shelter of its walls. The lord of Muskerry, whom Doctor Smith styles Lord Clancarthy, Mac Carthy, Carthy Reagh,† O'Donovan, and O'Sullivan, were assembling in Carbery, with wild and lawless bands at their heels. The lord of Muskerry, who was esteemed the head of the Irish party in Munster, not only hung several of the common people for thieving, but sent some of the Kinalmeaky thieves to Bandon, "where they met their desert" from the young Lord Kinalmeaky.

* *Dromana*. This place is incorrectly spelt *Dromona* in vol. i. p. 192.

† *Mac Carthy Reagh*. Daniel Mac Carthy, son and heir of Florence Mac Carthy, was suspected of being in the parliament interest; but Carte says, "I have not found that he has ever stirred on the side of the parliament."—*Carte's State Papers*, p. 294.

The Irish, under the command of Mac Carthy Reagh, approached the walls on the 18th of February, 1642. Lord Kinalmeaky made a sally with about two hundred foot and sixty horse. There was some hard fighting. The Irish, who were repulsed, had over a hundred slain—"whereof five were gentlemen of note and leaders"—and fourteen taken prisoners, who were "directly executed by martial law* at the town gate." Sharp practice this for men fighting for their king, and liberty to practise their religion.

Lord Cork, writing of this affair to his relative, the Earl of Warwick,† says, "And now the boy has blooded himself upon them, I hope that God will bless him and his majesty's forces, that as I now write but of the killing of a hundred, I shall shortly write of the killing of thousands."—Pious language this, my Lord Cork! But he explains: "Their unexampled cruelty hath bred such desires of revenge in us, that every man hath laid aside all compassion, and is as bloody in his desire against them, as they have been in their execution of us." Lord Cork, who set up for a pious man, and who took for his motto, "God's providence is my inheritance," forgot the words, "*The Lord will abhor the bloody man.*"—"Bloody men shall not live half their days." A year did not pass before "the boy," who had "*blooded himself*" at Bandon, was brought home a bloody corpse from Liscarrol.

The Lords Justices, in sending down the commis-

* *Martial law.* Commissions to execute martial law had been sent down for this purpose by the Lords Justices, who took the side of the parliament. Lord Broghill told Richard Butler, of Kilcash, "that for quarter, he never knew what the word meant."

† *Earl of Warwick.* Charles Rich, second son of this earl, married Lady Mary, Lord Cork's seventh daughter.

sions for the execution of martial law on loyal Irish Catholics, return thanks to the Earl of Cork for his care of Youghal, and tell him they depend on him to keep it for the landing of supplies. The earl, who is now an old man, writing to another son-in-law, Lord Goring,* says, "To prevent the yielding up of this town to the rebels, as weak and infirm as I am, I am commanded hither, and I have brought with me for my guard, 1000 foot and 60 horse, which I have here with me in defence of this poor weak town, where the Irish are three to one of the English; and if it should be lost, all the hope and retreat of the English in the province is gone. And God willing, I will be so good a constable to the king, my master, as I will die in the defence thereof, although I have no great hope to defend it, yet we will bestir ourselves as Englishmen."

King or Parliament, it was all alike to my Lord Cork, provided he was allowed to hold his own. This letter was dated at midnight of Twelfth-day, after a heavy and sorrowful Christmas. He writes a few days after, and puts the following superscription on his letter:—" *In all haste ! Haste ! Post-haste ! Haste !*"

Sir Charles Vavasor arrived in Youghal with a thousand men, in February, 1642. The day he landed, the native Irish executed eight of Lord Cork's English tenants, and bound an Englishwoman's hands behind her, and buried her alive.

The city of Cork may be said to have been invested this year, 1642, by Irish troops, under the command of Lord Muskerry. Doctor Smith calls it a blockade.

* Lord Goring, Vice-Chamberlain. Lord Cork's daughter, Lettice, was married to his son, Colonel George Goring.

"On the 13th of April the Lord Muskerry, who had kept his camp at Rochfortstown, within three miles of Cork, caused a party of the army to chase the English scouts into the very suburbs." The Lord President, Sir William St. Leger, is within the walls, too sick to take an active part in the defence of the city. Lord Inchiquin and Colonel Vavasor get his permission to sally. They catch the besiegers in the act of packing up their traps; they chased them for three miles, taking their equipages and carriages, with Lord Muskerry's armour, tent and trunks. Mac Fineen's brother, better known as *Captain Sugane*, with two hundred of the Irish troops, were slain.

The parliamentary troops are in need of everything, so much so that St. Leger permits them to seize £4,000, which Sir Robert Tynte, of Youghal, was transporting into England. Tynte was afterwards recompensed by the grant of land* between Youghal and Castlemartyr. Lord Cork says, writing to the Earl of Warwick, "Before this rebellion, my revenue, besides my houses, demesnes, parks, and other royalties, did yield me fifty pounds a day rent. I do vow unto your lordship that I have not now fifty pence a week coming to me." He had to provide in Youghal for fifteen companies, who were fed on salt beef, barrellled butter, and biscuit—"with water to drink,"—"which," says his lordship, "made a rich churchyard and a weak garrison."

Lord Inchiquin, when greatly driven for supplies, called a council of war, which decided on seizing the

* *Grant of land.* His grant lay on the coast. His house or castle, Ballycrenane, stood near Ballycotton Bay.

tobacco of all the patentees in the county, of which there was a large supply in Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal. Some troops having arrived, for which there was no provision, he ordered them to Youghal, which could scarcely support its own garrison. The men hesitated or halted on the way. Inchiquin sent a messenger to say if they did not march he would hang them. This was no doubt to annoy my Lord Cork. Inchiquin was at heart more of a royalist than a parliamentary man.

Sir William St. Leger, Lord President of Munster, whose heart was with the king, and in whose cause his eldest son had fallen at the battle of Newbury, died at Doneraile, the 2nd of July, 1642. Dr. Smith says, the distractions between the king and the parliament so troubled his spirit, and made so deep an impression on his mind, that it threw him into a disorder, of which he died. St. Leger, writing to Ormond, says, "It grieves me beyond any earthly sorrow, for the great distance and difference betwixt his majesty and the parliament; and if all the measures of the times, joined with my long and violent sickness, were not of force to subject me to the grave, yet the sorrow for these unhappy variances would crack a much stronger heart than your servant hath now left in him."

Ludlow says, the king appointed Lord Muskerry to the office of president, but the Lords Justices chose Lord Inchiquin,* who had married St. Leger's daughter, which kept this nobleman on the side of the parliament.

* *Lord Inchiquin*, i. e. Murrough O'Brien, the sixth baron and first earl of Inchiquin. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William St. Leger.

The Irish confederate army, consisting of 7,000 foot, 5,000 horse, and a good train of artillery, under the command of General Barry, re-entered this county on the 20th of August, 1642. They commenced operations by the siege of Liscarrol Castle, which they assailed with a "battering piece of so large a bore, that it was drawn by twenty-five yoke of oxen." The castle, the property of Sir Philip Perceval,* who was in England, surrendered on the 2nd of September, after a siege of thirteen days.

Inchiquin arrived on the ground the next day, at the head of the Parliamentary troops. Sir Charles Vavasor, Colonel Myn,† Captain Jephson, and the four sons and the son-in-law of Lord Cork, were in his army, namely, Lords Dungarvan, Kinalmeaky, Broghill, and Barrymore, with Master Francis Boyle, afterwards Lord Shannon. In the Irish confederate army were Lords Roche, Muskerry, Ikerrin,‡ Dunboyne, Castleconnel, Brittas, Colonel Richard Butler, and a number of other Irish gentlemen.

The Irish foot were divided into three bodies—the right wing was posted near a battery, on a hill; the left near the castle, within a musket shot of another

* *Sir Philip Perceval* obtained grants of forfeited lands to the amount of 101,000 statute acres. He died 1647, when his son, John, was created a baronet of Ireland, 1661, by patent, with this remarkable clause, that the eldest son, or grandson, shall become a baronet after the age of 21, and during the lifetime of the father or grandfather, as the case may be. Robert, the second son of the first baronet, was assassinated in 1677, by an unknown hand, in the Strand, London. Another member of this family was assassinated by Bellingham in the lobby of the House of Commons, in 1812. The great-grandson of the first Sir Philip became Baron of Burton, county Cork, in 1716; Viscount Perceval, of Kanturk, in 1722; and Earl of Egmont in 1733. The present earl possesses much property in this county, in and about Kanturk, Buttevant, and Liscarrol.

† *Colonel Myn*.—He went to England on a cessation of hostilities, and was slain in Gloucestershire, and most of his Irish regiment cut to pieces.

‡ *Ikerrin*.—Sir Pierce Butler, who was created Viscount Ikerrin in 1629. The eighth viscount was created Earl of Carrick in 1748.

battery ; the third division, which consisted for the most part of pikes, stood between, and a little behind the other two. The horse occupied the brow of a hill. Their position was well chosen. Lord Inchiquin advanced with a party of horse against the Irish cavalry. It was on this occasion that Lord Kinalmeaky was killed, by a party of musqueteers that lay behind the hedges. His brother, Francis Boyle, a lad of nineteen, bore off his body and horse from the midst of the enemy. Inchiquin made one or two mistakes, but gained, notwithstanding, a decided victory. The confederates lost seven hundred men, three pieces of artillery, and thirteen pair of colors. There was quarter given to none, but Colonel Richard Butler, son to the Lord Ikerrin, who was the last man of the Irish army that left the field. Inchiquin had only twelve men killed, and about twenty wounded. The loss of the confederates was not great : seven hundred from an army of seven thousand five hundred ; nor was Lord Inchiquin able to follow up the victory, but was compelled, for want of subsistence, to march back to Mallow, and disperse his troops in garrisons.

Although this battle was fought for the parliament and against the confederates, who were friendly to the king, Lord Cork has the face to write to the king's sincere and tried friend, the Marquis of Ormond, Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, requesting that Kinalmeaky's commission—for the command of a troop of horse—may be transferred to his brother, Dungarvan ; and that Dungarvan's company of foot may be given to the younger brother, Francis. He also recommends to his lordship's favour the young lord

Barrymore, his grandson, whose father has left "a distressed widow and four children, with an encumbered and disjointed estate, and with his country wasted." Lord Barrymore died on Michaelmas day. The old earl never lost anything for the asking, and recommended his sons to adopt the same practice. Lord Dungarvan, accompanied by his brother, Broghill, had gone to England to solicit, on the sly, the office of Lord President, then held by Lord Inchiquin. The earl, writing to Dungarvan, tells him to leave no friend unsolicited, or fair means unattempted, to effect his object, "for," he adds, "if you return without it, you will meet with thorns entering your sides, and be subject to such affronts as your spirit will not digest." That is from Inchiquin. He concludes, "It is more than high time to look about you, and prevent the malignant humours which are stirred up to your prejudice." It was the earl's policy, as is clear from his applications to both the royalist and parliamentary parties, to run with the hare and hold with the hounds. But the old man was not in at the death, or restoration. His tactics on these two occasions would have made a curious chapter in Irish history. He died in Youghal in 1643. Borlase says, "he was a person, for his abilities and knowledge in affairs of the world, eminently observable, inasmuch as though he was no peer of England, yet he was admitted to sit in the House of Lords upon the woolsack, *ut consiliarius*." This is all true, but we doubt if any wise or good man would envy him his prosperity. We need scarcely repeat Cromwell's compliment, that "if there had been an Earl of Cork in every county, the Irish could

never have rebelled." Quite correct, for there would have been no Irish to rebel. He and his sons never gave quarter. They never knew the meaning of the word. They were as cunning as Cromwell, and as cruel as Carew.

When we say that the Earl of Cork was a good husband and a kind father, who provided ample fortunes for his children, it is all we can say. Writing to his son, Dungarvan, whom he sent to England, respecting his wife's tomb, he says, "And indeed, Dick, in my best understanding, I must needs tell you, you have the best father in the world, that taketh this care, and maketh such provision for you, as I have done; and, therefore, let me advise you not to slight or neglect me, as, since your coming into England, you have hitherto done." Four of his sons were ennobled in their father's lifetime, and seven of his eight daughters married to noblemen, or to the sons and heirs apparent of noblemen. Lady Alice to the Earl of Barrymore, Lady Sarah to Lord Digby, Lady Lettice to Colonel George Goring, son and heir to Lord Goring; Lady Catherine to Arthur Jones, son and heir to Lord Ranelagh; Lady Dorothy to Sir Arthur Loftus, son and heir to Sir Adam Loftus, Lord Treasurer; Lady Mary* to Charles Rich, afterwards Earl of Warwick, and Lady Joan to George Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare. The father's manœuvring in bringing about the match with his daughter, Joan, and the young Earl of Kildare,

* The earl had an untitled son, more distinguished than any other member of his family, Robert Boyle, the philosopher, who was styled "the father of chemistry." Lady Mary, who was married to the Earl of Warwick, appears to have been a person of great wisdom and worth. The Rev. Anthony Walker styles her "*the virtuous woman found*." She was in the habit of calling prayer "*heart's-ease*." Her biographer says "she was the most illustrious pattern of sincere piety and solid goodness the age had produced."

will convey, perhaps, the most correct impression of his character we have got yet. Kildare, being a minor, and a mere boy, the Earl of Cork managed to get himself appointed his guardian and the receiver on his estates, by bribing the grandmother, the Duchess of Lennox, with six thousand six hundred crowns. He then got the boy to sign the deeds for his daughter Joan's jointure, although he was not of age. Writing to another son-in-law, Goring, whom he employed on this ugly business, he says, "It must be done without the duchess' knowledge." Writing to young Kildare, he tells him his property has much need of such a steward as he intends to be, and adds, "Although I know that anything you shall do herein, during your minority, will not be binding unto you, yet, I repose so much in your honour and integrity, and do presume myself and daughter shall deserve so well of you, as, when you come of years, you will make good what you do in your nonage; and so, with all the prayers and best wishes for your health and safety, all this family, with myself, desire to be remembered, most affectionately, unto you, and so take a hasty leave from Dublin, the 20th of March, 1629. Your lordship's friend and servant, that loves and honors you,

" R. CORK."

The battle of Liscarrol was fully avenged the next year. Sir Charles Vavasor, who became governor of Bandon, went into Condon's country, to besiege the castle of Cloghlea. The castles of Cloghlea and Coole had been wrested from the English during the previous year, by Richard Condon. Smith says that quarter and safe convey had been promised to the garrison,

which consisted of thirty-six of Lord Barrymore's troopers, who were all slain, with the exception of one, who escaped with thirty-six wounds. Sir Charles Vavasor's troops retook Cloghlea, in which they found twenty men, eleven women, and seven children, who were first stripped, and then butchered. This was even worse than the slaughter of Barrymore's dragoons. Major Howell interfered with Colonel Vavasor to save their lives, who committed them to the care of Captain Wind, who left them to a guard, that "fell upon them with carbines, pistols, and swords." Sir Charles vowed vengeance on the captain of the guard, but vengeance on himself, and the whole host, from another quarter, was at hand.

It was Sunday, the 4th of June, when Mr Hill, with a troop of horse, were sent to scout or pillage near Clooheen. The morning was dark and cloudy. When the sun dispelled the mist, they found themselves almost surrounded by the Irish horse. The English broke through, and passed the river Funcheon, and gained the top of the hill, with the enemy at their heels. From this hill to Fermoy, there is a narrow defile, through which they pressed upon their main body, that lay on the banks of the Blackwater, under command of Colonel Vavasor. There was no escape. The Earl of Castlehaven, who commanded the Irish, gained a complete victory. The English lost their colors and artillery, and had five or six hundred slain, and a large number made prisoners, among which was their commander, Sir Charles Vavasor; for Castlehaven had *not* adopted the bloody and inhuman practice of refusing quarter. The Irish commander describes the

affair in his usual modest way. "I lost no time in the charge, and quickly defeated his horse, who, to save themselves, broke in on the foot, and put them into disorder. Their cannons were useless, being past the Blackwater. This (with God's blessing), and a great shower of rain, gave me the victory, with little or no loss. Sir Charles, that commanded, with several other officers, remained prisoners, their cannon and baggage taken, and all their foot defeated, but their horse, for the most part escaped. This happened on a Sunday, the 4th of June, 1648."

Lord Castlehaven, who commanded the Irish confederate army on this occasion, was a Catholic, but a sincere royalist, and as distinguished for his humanity as for his noble birth.* He had served on the continent. He joined the royal army in Berwick-on-Tweed. He was forced, by adverse circumstances, into the Irish civil war. An act of hospitality bestowed on the Marquis of Ormond, the fast friend of Charles, caused him to be arrested, his house at Maddenstown to be fired, and some of his servants slain. But a previous act of hospitality and kindness—wherein he performed the part of the good Samaritan towards an Irish trooper, whom he found wounded, and whom he had lodged in his own house till restored to health—was the cause of his liberation. Though the trooper was of a different faith and opposite politics, he was grateful. Ledwick—for this was his name—visited Castlehaven in prison, in Dublin, arranged his escape, and

* *Noble birth.*—James Touchet, Earl of Castlehaven, and Baron Orier in Ireland, and Baron Audley of Heleigh, in Staffordshire, in England. His ancestor came to England with William the Conqueror, and fought at Hastings. Henry Touchet, the lord of Aldethelsigh, or Audley, was Lord Justice of Ireland in 1263.

provided the horses. It was Castlehaven's intention to have gone to France, but being disappointed in the vessel, he set off for Kilkenny, and joined the confederate Catholics, by whom he was made a general of horse. Speaking of his escape—for he was pursued—he says, "They killed many of my servants, and burned my house. This I saw as I passed by in the disguise of a servant to the trooper—and *had notice by the way that Castlehaven was seized by the English.*"

"I had," he continues, "the good fortune to begin my command with an act of charity; for going to see the garrison of Birr, before it marched out, I came into a great room, where I found many people of quality, both men and women. They no sooner saw me, than, with tears in their eyes, they fell on their knees, desiring me to save their lives. I was astonished at their posture and petition, and having made them rise, asked what the matter was? They answered that from the first day of the war, there had been continual action and bloodshed between them and their Irish neighbours, and therefore (understanding that I was an Englishman) begged I would take them into my protection. I knew there was too much reason for their fears, considering they were to march two or three days through the woods of Iregan, and waste countries, before they came to Athy, their next friendly garrison. I went, therefore, to the general immediately, and got to be commander of their convoy; and, to make sure, I called out 800 foot, and 200 horse, in whom I had most confidence, and carried off the people, who were, at least, 800 men, women, and children, and though sometimes attacked, I delivered them

with their baggage safe to their friends." God's blessing on you, and the blessing of the good Protestants of Birr on you, my Lord Castlehaven!—*Vide "Castlehaven's Wars,"* pp. 49-50.

Three months after this defeat, of what we must style the parliamentary troops, the royalists, under the command of the Marquis of Ormond, made advances to the Irish, under the direction of the Confederate Council. These advances would have been made before, had the king been at liberty to do so. Castlehaven had returned to his brother-in-law's house, at Kilcash, to rest himself; when a trumpeter brought a letter from the Marquis of Ormond, who had been appointed by the king to hear Catholic grievances, and treat for accommodation. The Irish Council is called to acknowledge the king's gracious favor.

"After this," says Lord Castlehaven, "a treaty went on for a peace, and in a short time all was agreed, except a cessation for churches,* and the splendid exercise of religion, as in France and Spain. This was much insisted on by the confederate commissioners, and as resolutely refused by the Lord of Ormond, who alleged that the king, by agreeing to such an article, might endanger the loss of his whole party in England." "It was certainly," continues the earl, "a great folly, and a prodigious instance of blind zeal in the Irish clergy, to stand out thus with the king, after such repeated profession of loyalty, and so many battles lost by their generals."

The Irish may have felt they were demanding no

* *Cessation for churches.*—We are not sure of his lordship's meaning here, but conclude he refers to the delivering up of the old Catholic churches, which were in the possession of Protestants.

more than their just rights, but they were demanding them at a time when the principle of religious liberty was understood and practised by no party, and from a king, who was in the hands of a parliament, most violently opposed to the Catholic faith. A temporary peace for twelve months was patched up between the royalists and confederates.

Lord Inchiquin, who was never a sincere parliamentary general, united with the Irish and royalist party, and carried over a large portion of his forces to England, and placed them beneath the royal standard. It was his desire to be confirmed in the presidency of Munster, but the king had just bestowed the office upon the Earl of Portland, so Inchiquin returned to Ireland a more violent parliamentary man than before.

This change of purpose brought about a more cordial union between Inchiquin and Broghill than had previously existed. Lord Cork, in writing to Dungarvan, who was seeking the office of president—to which we have referred on a previous occasion—says, “The Lord Inchiquin is much scandalised at you and your brother Broghill, alleging that you have done him great wrong, in that before you departed from this, you wrote letters, which were read openly in parliament, wherein you slighted his merit in the battle of Liscarrol, and attributed the chief honor of the day’s service to Sir Charles Vavasor.” But these slights were now forgotten, and both united their forces against the Irish. It was at this time they adopted the daring and decided measure of turning the Irish out of Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale. To justify such a violent measure, there must, of course, be a plot,

either real or manufactured ; we, therefore, learn from a tract, published in London in 1644, bearing the name of Jane Coe, and entitled, "*A plot discovered in Ireland, and prevented without the shedding of blood,*" that there was a plot. We give the following as a specimen of violent accusation without the shadow of a proof :—

"I know you have heard how my lord of Inchiquin hath put the Irish out of Cork in July last, and not without much cause, for there was a most horrid, damnable, and bloody plot of conspiracy invented and practised by the popish priests and blood-thirsty Jesuits, and the same of a sudden to be put in execution by the townsmen of Cork, that were confederates with that bloody and arch-rebel the lord of Muskerry, who had prepared an army in his country near Cork, to be in readiness at an hour's warning, after he had intelligence from the popish priests and others of that faction, to approach towards Cork with his army of rebels, who should have been let into the town in the night ; and for that purpose they had agreed among themselves to have such townsmen that night to be in the watch, and in the court of guard, as should be in readiness to seize upon the magazine, arms, ordnance, powder and shot, at an instant when the word should have been given, and the rest of their confederates to be likewise ready to let in the rebels at the gate ; and so in the dead time of the night to enter into every Englishman's house, with swords, skenes, and pistols, with full resolution to massacre, murder, and kill man, woman, and child ; for which horrible murders their holy fathers the priests had given to each one that did

undertake this bloody design, a free pardon and dispensation.

“It pleased God, in the interim, that this execrable plot of treason was discovered, and the priests that were the chief contrivers of this most damnable plot were taken, and at the time of their execution, confessed their mischievous intentions, which extended to the utter extirpation of all the English protestants in Munster, if God had not, in his infinite goodness and mercy, prevented it.

“For the rest of the townsmen that had engaged themselves in this inhuman conspiracy, they were so many in number, and being at least six to one of our English, they could not so well be taken, or apprehended, without great danger and much effusion of blood on both sides. But the governor of Cork, and the rest of the chief commanders, for the better prevention of so great a danger, devised a remarkable counter-plot (for the taking and apprehending the town’s conspirators rather by policy than by violence), and for that purpose caused Captain Muschamp, governor of the Great-fort without the South-gate* of Cork, to fain and counterfeit himself to be in drink, and so, as it were in a merry humour, invite himself to Master Major [Mayor] his house to dinner; and accordingly he dined there, and after the Irish fashion, was kindly entertained, and divers cups passed round of sack, claret, and usquebaugh, in friendly manner, to welcome him, and make him the more merrily disposed.

* *The Great-fort, without the South-gate, was Fort Elizabeth, in Barrack Street. It was larger than Catt-fort, which was higher up. It was rebuilt after the rebellion of 1603, “to curb the insolence of the citizens.” The South-gate stood at the end of the South Main Street, by the South bridge.*

“ And sitting at dinner, they discoursed of divers matters, concerning the present distractions of these times, and divers propositions were made, and every one gave their opinions, according to their own apprehensions ; and amongst other discourses, Captain Muschamp, seeming to be in a merry humour, did speak these, or such like words :

“ ‘ Well, Master Major, if that it should please God that the parliament ships were in the harbour of Cork, if you and the rest would not take the covenant to be true to the king *and parliament* ; I protest I would, with the great ordnance in the fort, beat down all the houses in Cork about your ears.’

“ With that the major and the rest of the company rose up in a great fury, and said that he had spoken treason, and he should answer it, and so they brought him before the governor, and repeated the words he had spoken, desiring that he might be proceeded against according to law, in such cases provided. Whereupon the governor gave many thanks to Master Major, in showing himself so good a subject in discovering such a treason as that was, saying it was time to look about us when we shall have the chief officers that are put in trust with matters of such concernment as he was, being governor of the king’s fort, should speak such treasonable words. ‘ And therefore, Master Major, you shall have my best assistance, and such punishment shall be inflicted upon him as martial law will permit.’

“ So the major, for the present, departed, and a martial court was called, and the council of war met and sat upon his trial ; the business examined, the wit-

nesses produced, the words were proved against him, and being found guilty, was condemned by the council of war for treason, had his sentence given to be hanged next day. And at the time appointed, the sheriffs and the greatest part of the city came to see the execution, and the prisoner was brought out of the city well guarded, with a considerable company of musqueteers; and when they perceived that the chiefest and most dangerous men of the city were come out of the gates, the word was given, and the prisoner, Captain Muschamp, being set at liberty, did command his officers to lay hold on all the chiefest of the citizens, and carry them prisoners to the fort, whereof he was captain and governor; and as soon as they were taken, the chiefest aldermen and others in the city were taken, and kept prisoners as hostages, to secure the English as well within as without the gates, which were at that instant shut up, and the drawbridge taken up, so that none could come in or go out, till all matters were pacified.

“And, in the meantime, there was a proclamation made, that if the Irish resisted the English, the soldiers should shoot them, and if any English were killed in that broil, the chiefest of their city should be hanged over their walls; which proclamation did so terrify the Irish, that they were all glad to be quiet, and so there was no great hurt done, which was much to be admired, that a matter of so dangerous a consequence should be effected without any further trouble, and the projectors thereof highly to be commended in devising such a stratagem of mercy, in time of such troubles and rebellion, to prevent the shedding of guiltless blood.”

This affair, described by Jane Coe, was no doubt very clever, but very disgraceful, especially to men in authority. This anti-popish plot, was worthy of a pot-house. The governor of an important fort feigns drunkenness, staggers, uninvited, to the mayor's house, broaches treason, is arrested, has a sham trial—his judges being in the plot—and is condemned to be executed. The principal inhabitants go out to see him hanged, and, at a given signal, are seized and turned out of the city, to wander as vagabonds up and down the country. Many of the Irish "rogues and rapparees" were of this class. The real rogues and rapparees were men like Inchiquin and Muschamp, who made them such.

Inchiquin was confirmed in the office of president, by the English parliament, for his conduct in this affair. Smith says, and he refers to the city council books, "The civil authority ceased in Cork on the 26th of July, 1644, and was not renewed till the year 1655, when Sir William Fenton, Maurice Roche, Christopher Oliver, John Morley, and John Hodder, who were ancient freemen, elected the said John Hodder to be mayor." But, notwithstanding, in Dr. Smith's list of mayors, we find the name of James Lombard, for 1645. For ten years after, there was no civil magistrate in Cork; that is for the ten years of Cromwell's usurpation.

A Frenchman* who had befriended one Thomas Newell—whom he styles Tam Neucl—and whom he

* *A Frenchman*.—M. De la Boullaye le Gouz. He published his work in Paris, in 1653. The book was translated by Mr. Crofton Croker, in the year 1837.

accompanied to Cork in the year of the barring out, 1644, tells the following interesting anecdote :—
“ Having arrived at Cork, Tam Neucl, of whom I have before spoken, led me to his father's house. He knocked at the door, when a well-looking man appeared and demanded what we wanted. Tam Neucl desired to know whether John Neucl was at home. The man replied that he knew no such person. Neucl insisting that the house belonged to the person for whom he had asked, was told, that it belonged to an English captain, who had it on the seclusion of the Catholics from the town. He was surprised to find events so deplorable had occurred to his family. I sympathised with him, and observed, ‘ Since things were thus, we must seek a lodging, as the night was coming on.’ ‘ O, Mister Frenchman,’ he said, ‘ you cannot, without injustice, refuse to repair to the house, if not of my father, at least of some other relation. I have uncles in the town where we shall be welcome.’

“ We found out one of them, and by him were received with all imaginable kindness, and Neucl learned that his father had lost, in the religious wars, more than £10,000 sterling, and had been obliged to fly to the country, to avoid the tyranny of the English protestants. I remained eight days in this house, in the midst of continual festivity, and on taking leave, to pursue my travels, they thanked me for the assistance I rendered to Tam Neucl, and in spite of all I could do, repaid me the money I had furnished for his expenses from Limerick.”

The Earl of Castlehaven re-entered this county in the beginning of 1645, at the head of 5,000 foot and

1,000 horse, and took Liscarrol, Mallow, Doneraile, Mitchelstown, and some other places. It was on this occasion that he captured Colonel Henry O'Brien, brother to the Lord Inchiquin, at Rostellan. Inchiquin remained for the most part on the defensive. The civil, or rather military, history of this and the succeeding year, (1645 and 1646) consisted of little more than the taking and retaking of castles and small towns.

"Now, by way of digression," says Lord Castlehaven, "I must tell you that about this time (Midsummer 1645) there arrived in the west of Ireland, Rinuccini, archbishop and prince of Fermo, in quality of nuncio, sent by Pope Innocent the Tenth to the Confederate Catholics, and coming near the coast was chased by a parliament frigate, commanded by one Plunkett; but as he was ready to board him, he saw his kitchen-chimney on fire; which to quench he was forced to lie by, and so gave the nuncio an opportunity of gaining the shore, to the great misfortune of the Confederate Catholics, and many other good and valuable interests."

Smith says, "His coming did little prejudice to the English interest, for he revived the distinction between the Irish natives and the old English Catholics, which split their party into different factions."

The only hope of the Catholic at this time was a cordial union with the royalist, but such a union was violently opposed by the nuncio. "All this while," says Castlehaven, "a treaty of peace with my lord of Ormond went on, though much opposed by the nuncio and the national congregation of the clergy at Water-

ford." Again, "The nuncio and this congregation went so far as to declare that the confederate commissioners," who were in treaty with Ormond for a peace, "were perjured and foresworn, threatening them with thunders of excommunication in case of persisting." But the treaty of peace went on, and was signed in Kilkenny, called "*The Peace of Forty-six*," but it had no effect, on account of the nuncio's determined opposition, who went to war without his best friends, and was beaten, and when it was too late and Cromwell was in the field, consented to unite with the Irish royalists.

The nuncio "had an ill reception" on his return to Rome in 1648. "You have acted rashly,"—*temerarie te gessisti*—said the pope, of which reproof "and the loss of Fermo, he soon after died." The Marquis of Ormond was obliged, in self-defence, to make terms with the English parliament, and afterwards to leave the country for France.

The most important battle fought in this county, during the civil war, was that of Knockninoss,* north-west of Mallow. The parliamentary troops, under Lord Inchiquin, consisted of 4,000 foot and 1,200 horse; the Irish army, under Lord Taaffe,† of about 7,000 foot and 1,000 horse. The famous Sir Alexander Mac Donnell, or Mac Allisdrum,‡ with his

* *Knockinoss*.—*Cnoc-na-n-os*, "Hill of the Fawns," in the parish of Subulter, to the north of Castle-Magner, in this county.

† *Lord Taaffe*, Theobald, son of Sir John Taaffe, who was advanced to the peerage of Ireland in 1628. Theobald was created Earl of Carlingford after the Restoration in 1662, and got a grant of £4,000 a year. His son Nicholas, second earl, fell at the battle of the Boyne, fighting for King James. He was succeeded by his brother, the celebrated Count Taaffe, of Austria.

‡ *Mac Allisdrum*.—Doctor O'Donovan says, Sir Alexander M'Donnell was knighted by the Duke of Montrose; that he was Colla-Kittagh, and not the son of

Highlanders, fought under the Irish standard. Inchiquin gained a signal victory. Four thousand of the Irish were slain. Mac Allisdrum and most of his men were put to the sword in cold blood. The English lost Sir William Bridges, Colonel Grey, Major Brown, and Sir Robert Travers. This battle was fought on the 13th of November, 1647.

When the parliament heard of the victory, they voted £10,000 for the service of Munster, and £1,000 as a present to Lord Inchiquin.

Inchiquin, who was either offended at the smallness of the present, or possessed with the love or demon of change, resolved a second time to unite with the royalists, and made advances to Lord Taaffe, whom he had just beaten, to unite their forces; and to the Marquis of Ormond, who had fled to France, to return in all haste to Ireland. Declaring openly for the king, he was voted a rebel and a traitor by the parliament; his loyalty was therefore above or beyond suspicion.

The marquis arrived in Cork the 29th of September, 1648. Inchiquin received him with every mark of respect, and took the post of lieutenant-general of his army. The Earl of Castlehaven became general of the horse, and Lord Taaffe master of the ordnance. The army consisted of 8,000 foot and 2,000 horse.

The marquis published a declaration in Cork, stating it was his purpose to maintain the Protestant religion, the king's honor or prerogative, the rights of parliament, and the liberty of the subject. A copy of this declaration fell into the hands of Colonel Jones, the

"the real Colkitto," of Antrim, as Professor Curry asserts. Tradition has deposited the sword of this famous warrior at Lohort Castle, belonging to the Earl of Egmont.

friend of Cromwell, who sent it to the committee at Derby House. It was next read in parliament, and then forwarded to the king—who was a prisoner in the Isle of Wight—to own or disavow it. Charles wrote to Ormond not to proceed further, till his negotiations with the parliament had been concluded. Those negotiations ended in his decapitation.

To decapitate Charles I. was to enlarge the King of England. The Earl of Ormond had Charles II. proclaimed in Youghal, Carrick, Cork, Kinsale, and in all the other towns of this province. Prince Rupert, the great royalist general, and nephew of the murdered king, entered the harbour of Kinsale with sixteen ships, displaying black jacks, ensigns and pendants. The prince and all his officers were in deep mourning. He came, as he stated, to prepare the way for Charles II. He was visited by the Marquis of Ormond, and treated with all honor and respect by the inhabitants. His fleet succeeded in making prizes of a number of corn vessels, of which it stood in the greatest need. He sent a force to the relief of Scilly, and 5,000 pistoles to the new king. Prince Rupert's brother, Maurice, had arrived in Kinsale about a fortnight before him.*

All this looked bright enough for the royal cause, but it was no more than a flash of wintry sunshine. The English parliament sent Admirals Blake and Deane to blockade the harbour of Kinsale, which they accomplished, capturing the *Guinea*, one of Rupert's ships, which was out on a cruise. The prince

* *Fortnight before him.*—Prince Rupert first put into Crookhaven, owing to a mistake of the pilot.

posts to Cork and Waterford, and asks for aid, in the shape of five ships, to assail the blockading vessels, but is refused. He is, therefore, compelled to wait for winter storms to scatter or drive off the parliamentary vessels which hovered in and about the mouth of the harbour. But, in the meantime, his own fleet of sixteen ships was reduced to four and the flag ship, from want, and consequent desertion; but with these he managed to give the enemy the slip and reach Lisbon in safety; so nothing came of this promising expedition.

The Marquis of Ormond was equally unfortunate on land. He assembled a force of 8,000 foot and 2,000 horse at Carlow. His lieutenant, Lord Inchiquin, with a part of this army, pressed forward to Drogheda, which surrendered after seven days, on honorable terms, the garrison, consisting of six hundred men, receiving permission to march to Dublin. Inchiquin's next move was on Dundalk; from Dundalk to Newry, and from Newry to Trim Castle, taking all these places. He then marched back and rejoined the main body of the royalist army under Ormond, which lay at Finglass, about two miles to the north of Dublin.

From Finglass they advanced to Rathmines. The parliamentary army in Dublin, under the command of General Jones, had received considerable reinforcements. Ormond, who was aware of this when too late for retreat, and who had watched a considerable portion of the night, expecting an attack, had retired to rest, when he was aroused by the shouts of the assailants. Some accounts say that he had 4,000 slain and 2,500 taken prisoner, but this is much over the mark. He

lost all his artillery, baggage, money, and provisions. The sally proved a complete rout. Ormond wrote to General Jones for a list of the prisoners, when Jones replied, "My lord, since I routed your army I have not the happiness to know where you are, that I may wait upon you."

We discover from a letter of Oliver Cromwell, dated Ross, November 14th, 1649, that the English parliament voted General Jones £500 a year in Irish forfeited lands, for his victory at Rathmines. The letter is addressed to the Honorable Thomas Scott, of the Council of State, and opens thus:—

"Sir, I hope you will excuse this trouble. I understand the House did vote Lieutenant-General Jones five hundred pounds per annum of lands of inheritance from Irish lands, upon the news of the defeat given to the enemy before Dublin, immediately before my coming over. I think it will be a very acceptable work, and very well taken at your hands, to move the House for an immediate settlement thereof. It will be very convenient at this time."

CHAPTER IV.

OLIVER CROMWELL AND THE COMMONWEALTH.

A.D. 1649—1656.

CROMWELL landed in Dublin, the 14th of August, 1649, with an army of 9,000 foot and 4,000 horse. He found the English troops, under Lieutenant-general Jones, flushed with their late victory over Ormond at Rathmines, and learned that they, and the parliamentary soldiers generally, had been committing acts of violence upon the people,* and, therefore, published the address from which we give these extracts:—

“Whereas, I am informed, that upon the marching out of the armies heretofore, or of parties from garrisons, a liberty hath been taken by the soldiery to abuse, rob and pillage, and too often to execute cruelties upon the country people; being resolved, by the grace of God, diligently and strictly to restrain such wickedness for the future, I do hereby warn and require all officers, soldiers, and others under my command, henceforth, to forbear all such evil practices as aforesaid, and not to do any wrong or violence toward country people, or persons whatsoever, unless they be

* *Acts of violence upon the people.* Sir James Ware, the Irish historian, was about this time a hostage in the hands of General Michael Jones, for the delivery of Dublin into the hands of Cromwell. He was not badly treated. He afterwards got a pass from General Jones to go to France.

actually in arms or office with the enemy, and not to meddle with the goods of such without special order.

"And, hereof, I require all soldiers and others, under my command, diligently to take notice and observe the same, as they shall answer to the contrary at their utmost perils; strictly charging and commanding all officers and others, in their several places, carefully to see to it, that no wrong or violence be done to any such person as aforesaid, contrary to the effect of these premises. Being resolved, through the grace of God, to punish all that shall offend, contrary hereunto, very severely, according to law or articles of war; to displace, and otherwise punish, all such officers as shall be found negligent in their places, and not to see to the due observance hereof, or not to punish the offenders under their respective commands.—Given at Dublin, the 24th of August, 1649.

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

Cromwell made his first movement upon Drogheda, which Inchiquin had lately wrested from the parliament. He took the place by storm, putting about 3,000 to the sword. "I offered mercy to the garrison of Tredah," he says in his summons to the governor of Dundalk, "which, being refused, brought their evil upon them." Carlyle says, "the garrison consisted, in good part, of *Englishmen*"—Inchiquin's troops, we conclude—who never gave quarter themselves.

We shall give the account of the siege in Oliver's own words, in a letter to the Honorable John Bradshaw, President of the Council of State, and dated from Dublin, September 16th, 1649:—

"It hath pleased God to bless our endeavours at

Tredah [Drogheda]. After battery we stormed it. The enemy were about 3,000 strong in the town. They made a stout resistance; and near 1,000 of our men being entered, the enemy forced them out again. But God giving a new courage to our men, they attempted again and entered; beating the enemy from their defences.

“The enemy had made three retrenchments, both to the right and left of where we entered; all which they were forced to quit. Being thus entered, we refused them quarter, having the day before summoned the town. I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives. Those that did are in safe custody for the Barbadoes.”

In another letter to the Honorable William Lenthall, Speaker of the parliament of England, and dated from Dublin, September 17, 1649, he says, “The next day, the two other towers were summoned, in one of which was about six or seven score, but they refused to yield themselves, and we knowing that hunger must compel them, set only good guards to secure them from running away, until their stomachs were come down. From one of the said towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men. When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes. The soldiers in the other tower were all spared, as to their lives only, and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes. “Since that time”—that is, the taking of Drogheda—“the enemy quitted to us Trim and Dundalk. In Trim,

they were in such haste, that they left their guns behind them."

He proceeds from Dublin to the South, taking Wexford and Ross on his way to Cork. We shall be all the better acquainted with this remarkable man by marching from Dublin with him and his army. "Sir,"—writing to the Speaker from Wexford, the 14th October, 1649—"The army marched from Dublin, about the 23rd of September, into the county of Wicklow, where the enemy had a garrison about fourteen miles from Dublin, called Killencarrick, which they quitting, a company of the army was put therein. From thence the army marched through almost a desolated country, until it came to a passage over the river Doro, about a mile above the castle of Arklow, which was the first seat and honour of the Marquis of Ormond's family, which he had strongly fortified, but it was, upon the approach of the army, quitted, wherein we left another company of foot—thence the army marched towards Wexford.

He summons Colonel David Synnott, the commander-in-chief of the town, to surrender. Synnott must consult the mayor and corporation. Cromwell replies that he must be quick, and do it before twelve the next day. The corporation, to gain time, propose a treaty; they hear that Lord Castlehaven is on his march to their relief. Cromwell requires the town, and *not* a treaty, but let them send in their terms. Synnott sends a long paper, in which he requires liberty to exercise the Catholic religion, the possession of all religious houses and Catholic property, the prerogatives of Catholic bishops and other church digni-

taries to remain intact, all corporate rights, public and private property, military stores, and to march out with flying colors.

To these demands Cromwell makes the following reply:—"Sir, I have had the patience to peruse your propositions, to which I might have returned an answer with disdain, but to be short, I shall give the soldiers and non-commissioned officers quarter for life, and leave to go to their several habitations, with their wearing clothes, they engaging themselves to live quietly there, and to take up arms no more against the parliament of England; and the commissioned officers quarter for their lives, but to render themselves prisoners. And as for the inhabitants, I shall engage myself that no violence shall be offered to their goods, and that I shall protect the town from plunder.

"I expect your positive answer instantly; and if you will, upon these terms surrender and quit, and shall in one hour send forth to me four officers and two aldermen for the performance thereof, I shall thereupon forbear all acts of hostility.—Your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

But the answer, he informs us, had no effect, for while he was preparing it, the governor of the castle, "being fairly treated," delivered up the place. When the Irish see the Cromwellian troops in the castle, they desert their walls, which are instantly stormed. The Irish lost about 2,000 men, and Cromwell "not twenty."

Cromwell advances from Wexford to Ross, which he summons in the following style. The summons is addressed to Lucas Taaffe, the brother of Lord Taaffe,

who commanded the Irish at the battle of Knockninoss, near Castle Magner, in the county Cork :

"Sir, Since my coming into Ireland, I have this witness for myself, that I have endeavoured to avoid effusion of blood; having been sent before no place, to which such terms have not been first sent, as might have turned to the good and preservation of those to whom they were offered; this being my principle, that the people and places where I come may not suffer, except through their own wilfulness. To the end I may observe the like course with this place and people therein, I do hereby summon you to deliver the town of Ross into my hands, to the use of the parliament of England. Expecting your speedy answer, I rest, your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

Taafe replies, that he is prepared to entertain a safe and honorable treaty of surrender. Cromwell tells him that he and his army may march off with colors, bag and baggage; that the inhabitants shall be guarded from the violence of soldiers, and permitted to live free and peaceably. Lucas Taafe writes as follows:—

"FOR GENERAL CROMWELL, THESE:—

"Ross, 19th October, 1649.

"SIR,

"There wants but little that I would propose, which is, that such townsmen as have a desire to depart may have liberty, within a convenient time, to carry away themselves and goods, *and liberty of conscience to such as shall stay*; and that I may carry away such artillery and ammunition as I have in my command. If you be inclined to this I will send, upon your honour, as a safe-conduct, an officer to conclude with you, to which your immediate answer is expected by, sir, your servant,

"LUCAS TAAFFE."

To this very proper letter, Cromwell makes the following memorable reply. It is one of the coolest and most candid denials of the right of the Catholic to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience that was ever penned.

"FOR THE GOVERNOR OF ROSS, THESE :

"Before Ross, 19th October, 1649.

"SIR,

"To what I formerly offered, I shall make good. As for your carrying away any artillery or ammunition that you brought not with you, or that hath not come to you since you had the command of that place—I must deny you that, expecting you to leave it, *as* you found it.

"As for that which you mention concerning liberty of conscience, I meddle not with any man's conscience. *But if by liberty of conscience, you mean liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to let you know, where the Parliament of England have power, THAT will not be allowed.*

"As for such of the townsmen who desire to depart, and carry away themselves and goods (as you express), I engage myself they shall have three months time so to do, and in the meantime shall be protected from violence in their persons and goods, as others under the obedience of the parliament.

"If you accept of this offer, I engage my honour for a punctual performance hereof. I rest,

"Your Servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

For Cromwell to say, "I meddle with no man's conscience," and to deny, in the same breath, "a liberty to exercise the mass," is a piece of audacity, in the shape of self-contradiction, which the devil himself would scarcely venture on.

Taaffe seeing there was no use in parleying with such a man, and suspecting that further delay or resistance would subject Ross to the fate of Drogheda or Wexford, consented to render up the town.

It was while lying before Ross, that Oliver, writing to the Honorable Thomas Scott, of the Council of State, under date November 14th, 1649, says, "The Lord Broghill is now in Munster, where he, I hope, will do very good office. All his suit is for two hundred pounds, to bring his wife over. Such a sum would not be cast away. He hath a great interest in the men that come from Inchiquin. I have made him and Sir William Fenton, Colonel Blake and Deane—who I believe, at least one of them, will be frequently in Cork Harbour, making that a victualling place for the Irish fleet, instead of Milford Haven—I have made him and Colonel Phayr, commissioners for a temporary management of affairs there.

"This business of Munster will empty your treasury, therefore you have need to hasten our money allotted to us, lest you put us to stand with our fingers in our mouths! I rest, Sir, your servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

This Colonel Phayr or Phair, who is united with Broghill, Fenton, Blake, and Deane, was one of the three * appointed by the regicides to see that the death-warrant on Charles I. was duly executed. He is immediately after this appointed governor of Cork, before the king's blood is dry upon his fingers. This Colonel Blake became Admiral Blake. The next letter is for the Hon. William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the parliament of England, and is dated Ross, 14th of November, 1649:—

* *One of the three.*—The other two were Colonel Francis Hacker and Colonel Huncks. Colonel Huncks got the lands of Monkstown in Cromwell's time. There was a Doctor Huncks arrested in Cork, and sent as prisoner to Dublin, the 18th May, 1660, the day that Charles the II. was proclaimed in Cork.

"About a fortnight since I had some good assurance that Cork was returned to its obedience, and had refused Inchiquin, who did strongly endeavour to reintegrate himself there, but without success. I did hear also that Colonel Townsend * was coming to me with their submission and desires, but was interrupted by a fort at the mouth of Cork Harbour.† But having sufficient grounds upon the former information, and other confirmation out of the enemy's camp, that it was true, I desired General Blake, who was here with me, that he would thither in Captain Mildmay's frigate, called the Nonsuch; who, when they came, received such entertainment as these enclosed will let you see.

"In the meantime the *Garland*, one of your third-rate ships, coming happily into Waterford bay, I ordered her and a great prize lately taken in that bay, to transport Colonel Phayr to Cork; whither he went, having along with him near five hundred foot, which I spared him out of this poor army, and £1,500 in money, giving him such instructions as were proper for the promoting of your interest there."

Colonel Townsend, who has managed to pass the fort in the *Nonsuch* frigate, informs them that *Youghal* has declared for the parliament; so to *Youghal* they go. The mayor, and some of the more influential citizens, come aboard. The mayor is disposed to make conditions before rendering up the place. Lord Brog-

* *Colonel Townsend*.—Mr. Caulfield speaks of a Colonel Richard Townsend, who attempted, in 1648, (recté 1649) with Colonel Doyley, without their general, Lord Inchiquin's consent, to betray the towns of Munster to the English parliament, for arrears of pay.—*Journal of the Reverend Rowland Davies*, p. 96.

† *Fort at the mouth of Cork Harbour*.—This old fort was near Fort Carlisle. I believe some portions of it are yet visible.

hill assures him and his friends it would be more to their honor and advantage to make no conditions, to which they submit. "Whereupon," says Cromwell, from whose letter we quote, "my Lord Broghill, Sir William Fenton and Colonel Phaire, went to the town and were received—I shall give you my Lord Broghill's own words—with all the real demonstrations of gladness an overjoyed people were capable of."

Colonel Phaire lands his troops at Youghal, where he leaves a garrison, and marches with the rest to Cork, which he takes by surprise. The royalist governor, Sir Robert Starling, and indeed the whole city, except a few who had been awaked by the gingle of the fifteen hundred pounds, were caught napping.

The attack was made at night. "One may truly say," writes a parliamentary officer, with a little touch of Cromwellian humour, "that he"—that is Sir Robert Starling—"was divested of his government in the *dark*, and consequently could not see to prevent it." We discover, by a letter from Lady Fanshawe, that the Catholics, as well as royalists, were driven out of the city, stript, and wounded, and in the depth of winter. Lady Fanshawe was living at the Red Abbey,* one of the towers of which stand—in Cumberland Street—to the present day.

"I was in my bed when Cork revolted. By chance that day my husband was gone on business to Kinsale. It was in the beginning of November, 1650 [recté 1649]. At midnight I heard the great guns go off, and thereupon I called up my family to rise, which I

* *The Red Abbey* was founded as a convent for Augustinian Eremites, or Austin friars, in 1420, by Patrick De Courcy, Baron of Kinsale.

did as well as I could in that condition. Hearing lamentable shrieks of men, women, and children, I asked at a window the cause. They told me they were all Irish, stripped and wounded, and turned out of the town, and that Colonel Jefferies, with some others, had possessed themselves of the town for Cromwell. Upon this I immediately wrote a letter to my husband, blessing God's providence that he was not there with me, persuading him to patience and hope that I should get safely out of the town, by God's assistance, and desired him to shift for himself, for fear of a surprise, with promise that I would secure his papers.

"So soon as I had finished my letter I sent it by a faithful servant, who was let down the garden wall of Red Abbey, and, sheltered by the darkness of the night, he made his escape. I immediately packed up my husband's cabinet, with all his writings, and near £1,000 in gold and silver, and all other things both of clothes, linen, and household stuff that were portable, of value; and then, about three o'clock in the morning, by the light of a taper, and in that pain I was in, I went into the market place with only a man and maid, and passing through an unruly tumult, with their swords in their hands, searched for their chief commander, Jefferies, who, whilst he was loyal, had received many civilities from your father. I told him it was necessary that upon that change I should remove, and I desired his pass that would be obeyed or else I must remain there. I hoped he would not deny me that kindness. He instantly wrote me a pass, both for myself, family, and goods, and said he would never forget the respect he owed your father.

"I came through thousands of naked swords to Red Abbey, and hired the next neighbour's cart, which carried all that I could remove; and myself, sister, and little girl, Nan, with three maids and two men, set forth at five o'clock in November, having but two horses amongst us all, which we rid on by turns. In this sad condition I left Red Abbey, with as many goods as were worth £100, which could not be removed, and so were plundered. We went ten miles to Kinsale, in perpetual fear of being fetched back again, but by little and little, I thank God, we got safe to the garrison, where I found your father the most disconsolate man in the world, for fear of his family, which he had no possibility to assist; but his joys exceeded to see me and his darling daughter, and to hear the wonderful escape we, through the assistance of God, had made."

While Broghill and Phaire are preparing his way in Cork, Youghal, Bandon, and Kinsale, Cromwell is breaking up his camp at Ross, and preparing a bridge to cross the Barrow. The Irish, under Owen Roe O'Neill, are lying in force between the Barrow and the Nore, and "give out they will have a day of it, which we hope the Lord of his mercy will enable us to give them in his own good time." But while lying there, the Cromwellians were "not without some sweet taste of the goodness of God." The parliamentary fleet had taken the Dunkirk of thirty-two guns, and a Turkish ship of ten guns, with poor-john and oil. Another mercy was the escape of a party of about 1200—who had been left on the sick list in Dublin—from the hands of Inchiquin, on the beach of Arklow. "With-

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out doubt Inchiquin, Trevor, and the rest of these people, who are very good at this work, had swallowed up this party," but God was on their side.

"Seeking God for direction," Oliver sends a party of horse under Colonel Reynolds, to Carrick, which he takes by surprise. From Carrick they proceed to Waterford, and take the Passage fort, and a large castle, and then sit down before the Urbs Intacta, which they could *not* take; so, in order to cover his failure and retreat, Cromwell writes in the following style to the Speaker. The letter was read in parliament, and ordered to be printed and published, and "sent to all the ministers next Lord's day, who are to be, as they best may, the voice of our devout thankfulness for these great mercies." Let us see in what these mercies consisted, for they did *not* consist in the taking of Waterford. "It hath pleased the Lord, whilst these things have been thus transacting here, to add to our interest in Munster, Bandon-Bridge, the town—as we hear upon the matter—thrusting out young Jephson, who was their governor, or else deserting it upon that jealousy. As also Kinsale and the fort there. Out of this fort 400 men marched upon articles, when it was surrendered; so that now, by the hand of the Lord, your interest in Munster is near as good already as ever it was since this war began. I sent a party about two days ago to my Lord of Broghill, from whom I expect to have an account of all."

We don't know how to understand what Cromwell says about Bandon. It is evident he got Broghill's version of it. Bandon was in the hands of the Boyles, the Earl of Cork's sons, who did what they pleased

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with it. The Jephsons were always with the parliament. If young Jephson gave up the governorship, it must have been through "jealousy;" but my Lord Broghill, who managed all, wished to gain eclat by giving the affair all the importance of a surrender.

Cromwell glorifies himself and Broghill on the occasion, in the following style:—"Sir, what can be said of these things? Is it an arm of flesh that hath done these things? Is it the wisdom of council or strength of men? It is the Lord only. *God will curse that man and his house that dares to think otherwise.*" As many *did* think otherwise, and *still* continue to think otherwise, this "curse of Cromwell" must rest on many a head and house. It may be profanity, but we are more disposed to attribute the surrender of Cork to the fifteen hundred pounds sent there to bribe the leading men, than to any special divine influence. But what member of the parliament, for whom the letter was penned, dare say as much, or call this affair at Bandon a bagatelle? After brow-beating and thundering at the recusants, like Jupiter Tonans, he began to coax and wheedle in the following style:—

"I humbly beg leave to offer a word or two. I beg of those that are faithful, that they give glory to God. I wish it may have influence upon the hearts and spirits of all those that are now in place of government, in the greatest trust, that they may in all heart draw near to God, giving him glory by holiness of life and conversation; and that those unspeakable mercies may teach dissenting brethren"—dissentient members—"on all sides to agree, at least, in praising God. And if the Father of the family be so kind, why should there

be such jarrings and heart-burnings amongst the children? And if it will not be received that these are the seals of God's approbation of your great change of government—which indeed are no more yours than these victories and successes are ours—yet let them with us say, even the most unsatisfied heart amongst them, that both are the righteous judgments and mighty works of God; that he hath pulled the mighty from his seat, and calls to an account for innocent blood; that he thus breaks the enemies of his church in pieces. And let them not be sullen, but praise the Lord, and think of us as they please, and we shall be satisfied, and pray for them, and wait upon our God. And we hope we shall seek the welfare and peace of our native country, and the Lord give them hearts to do so too. Indeed, sir, I was constrained in my bowels to write thus much. I ask your pardon, and rest your most humble servant,

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”

He writes to Lord Wharton, who, we suspect, was one of the principal recusants, in the following style. The letter is dated from Cork, 1st January, 1649, recté 1650:—

“MY DEAR FRIEND, MY DEAR LORD,

“If I know thy heart I love you in truth, and, therefore, if from the jealousy of unfeigned love I play the fool a little, and say a word or two at guess, I know you will pardon it.

“It were a vain thing, by letter, to dispute over your doubts, or undertake to answer your objections. I have heard them all and I have rest from the troubles

of them, and of what has risen in my own heart, for which I desire to be humbly thankful. I do not condemn your reasonings; I doubt them. It is easy to object to the glorious actings of God if we look too much upon instruments! I have heard computations made of the members in parliament, the good kept out, the worst left in, etc., it has been so these nine years. Yet what hath God wrought? The greatest works last; and is still at work! Therefore, take heed of this scandal.

“Be not offended at the manner of God’s working, perhaps no other way was left. What if God accepted *their* zeal, even as he did that of Phineas, whom *reason* might have called before a jury? What if the Lord have witnessed his approbation and acceptance to this zeal also, not only by signal outward acts but to the hearts of good men too? What if I fear my friend should withdraw his shoulder from the Lord’s work—oh, it’s grievous to do so!—through scandals, through false mistaken reasonings.”

He concludes his letter thus:—“My service to the dear little lady. I wish you make her not a greater temptation to you in this matter than she is. Take heed of all relations. Mercies should not be temptations, yet we too oft make them so. The Lord direct your thoughts into the obedience of his will, and give you rest and peace in the truth! Pray for your most true and affectionate servant in the Lord.

“OLIVER CROMWELL.”

“P.S.—I received a letter from Robert Hammond, whom truly I love in the Lord, with the most entire affection; it much grieved me, not because I judged,

but feared the whole spirit of it was from temptation ; indeed I thought I perceived a proceeding in that, which the Lord will, I trust, cause him to unlearn. I would fain have written to him, but am straitened in time. Would he be with us a little ; perhaps it would be no hurt to him."

The following letter, which is addressed to the Honorable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the parliament of England, and dated Cork, 19th of December, 1649, describes his march from Waterford to Youghal :—

" MR. SPEAKER,

" Not long after my last to you from Waterford, by reason of the tempestuousness of the weather, we thought fit, and it was agreed, to march away to winter-quarters, to refresh our men until God shall please to give further opportunity for action.

" We marched off the 2nd of this instant, it being so terrible a day as ever I marched in all my life. Just as we marched off in the morning, unexpected to us, the enemy had brought an addition of near two thousand horse and foot to the increase of their garrison, which we plainly saw at the other side of the water. We marched that night some ten or twelve miles, through a craggy country, to Kilmacthomas, a castle some eight miles from Dungarvan. As we were marching off in the morning from thence, the Lord Broghill—I having sent before to him to march up to me—sent a party of horse to let me know he was, with about twelve or thirteen hundred of the Munster horse and foot, about ten miles off, near Dungarvan, which was newly rendered to him."

The letter goes on to describe the death of Lieutenant-General Jones, who was seized with a fever at Dungarvan, of which he died.

"In the midst of these grand successes, wherein the kindness and mercy of God hath appeared, the Lord, in wisdom, and for gracious ends best known to himself, hath interlaced some things, which may give us cause of serious consideration [as to] what his mind therein may be. And we hope we wait upon him, desiring to know, and to submit to his good pleasure. The noble lieutenant-general, whose finger, to our knowledge, never ached in all these expeditions, fell sick; we doubt not, upon a cold taken upon our late wet march and ill accommodation, and went to Dungarvan, where, struggling some four or five days with a fever, he died, having run his course with much honor, courage, and fidelity, as his actions better speak than my pen.

"What England lost thereby is above me to speak. I am sure I lost a noble friend and companion in labors. You see how God mingles out the cup unto us. Indeed we are at this time a crazy company; yet we live in His sight, and shall work the time that is appointed unto us, and shall rest after that in peace. Yet there hath been some sweet at the bottom of the cup."

He explains what he means by the sweet. Colonel Zouchy wrote to say he had caught a number of the Irish straggling, about two miles from Passage, near Waterford, which he had put to the sword. This was apples and nuts to Cromwell, who had to retreat from Waterford.

The body of the lieutenant-general was brought to Youghal— where Oliver took up his quarters for a few days — and interred with great solemnity, in Lord Cork's chapel, in the cathedral of St. Mary's. For this Cromwell orders a day of solemn observance; and for Zouchy's success, a day of general thanksgiving.

He left Youghal on the 15th of December, and arrived in Cork on the 17th, where he received "very hearty and noble entertainment." He was attended by "My Lord Broghill, Sir William Fenton, and divers other gentlemen and commanders. Colonel Deane and Colonel Blake, our sea-generals, are both riding in Cork Harbour." "To-morrow," continues the writer of the letter* from which we quote, "the Major-General [Ireton] is expected here, both in good health, God be praised. This week, I believe, they will visit Kinsale, Bandon-Bridge, and other places in this province that have lately declared for us."

It was while Cromwell was in Cork that the ultra-montane Catholic party convened an assembly at Clonmacnois, with the hope, when it was too late, of forming a union to oppose the English parliament. They published an address, to which Cromwell replied, in what Thomas Carlyle, in his usual extravagant and sham style, describes as "probably the remarkablest state paper ever published in Ireland since Strongbow, or even St. Patrick, first appeared there." The paper is no more than a violent politico-theological tract. The writer, who was *not* Cromwell, argues closely from incorrect data. The Latinity is pure. Were Milton in

* "The letter was addressed to an Honorable Member of the Council of State," and dated Cork, 18th of December, 1649.

Ireland, in 1649, we should say he wrote it, for it is in his *worst* prose style—Milton *could* write magnificent prose—and a great deal in his rabid anti-Catholic spirit. Cromwell never wrote it.

Bishop Bramhall narrowly escaped the protector's hands in Cork, who seems to have owed him a grudge. "I'd have given a good sum for that Irish Canterbury," said the nonconformist general, who was fond of a joke, though his jokes were generally poor ones. Being in want of artillery, he ordered the Cork bells to be converted into battering ordnance. Some of his friends remonstrating on the score of sacrilege, he replied, "Since gunpowder was invented by a priest, I think it not amiss to *promote* the bells into *canons*."

Cromwell's humour was sometimes of a very grim kind. Richard Magner, of Castle-Magner, near Mallow, went to pay his respects. Some one whispered in Cromwell's ear that Magner was a troublesome fellow, who had been active in the late rebellion. Oliver received him with apparent favor, and gave him a letter for his friend, Colonel Phair, the Parliamentary Governor of Cork. Magner thought it prudent to look at the letter before handing it to such a man. He broke the seal, and read his own death-warrant, in these words—"EXECUTE THE BEARER." This letter shall be delivered, soliloquised Richard, but not by me; so he posted off to Mallow, and handed it to the officer commanding there—who had often preyed upon his lands—telling him that General Cromwell directed that he should deliver it in person. This officer did not hesitate a moment. It might contain instructions for his promotion; it might give him a *lift*, very likely,

so he posts off to Cork and delivers the letter to Phair, who reads it with surprise, and asks how he got it. Suspecting a trick, he sends to Cromwell, who has the order countermanded with no small chagrin. Richard paid no more complimentary visits to Oliver after this.

Cromwell visited Kinsale and was handed the keys, which he did not, as usual, return to the chief magistrate, who was a Catholic, but handed them over to Colonel Stubber, the governor. Some one whispered in his ear that Stubber was not over strict in any religion. "May be not," replied Cromwell, "but as he is a soldier he has honor, and, therefore, we will let his religion alone this time."

Cromwell left Youghal on the 29th of January, 1650, and turned his face to the north. He writes to the Speaker from Castletown, in Limerick, Feb. 15, 1650: "Having refreshed our men in winter quarters, and health being pretty well recovered, we thought fit to take the field, and to attempt such things as God, by his providence, should lead us to upon the enemy." He crosses the Blackwater, at Mallow, and presses on to the county Limerick, having dispatched Broghill to besiege Castletownroche. "His lordship," says Cromwell, "drew two cannon to the aforesaid castle, which, having summoned, they refused, but his lordship having bestowed about ten shots made their stomachs come down. He gave all the soldiers quarter for life, and shot all the officers, being six in number, to death." He says nothing of Lady Roche, by whom the castle was defended in the absence of her lord.

Lord Roche and other Irish noblemen were indicted of treason by the Earl of Cork and his sons, in 1642.

"The Earl of Cork"—writes Dr. Smith—"with the assistance of his sons, the Lords Dungarvan, Broghill, Kinalmeaky, and Barrymore, held quarter sessions of peace at Youghal, in which the principal rebels were indicted of high treason." The old earl feeling, perhaps, he had turned the screw too tight in the case of Lord Roche, the proof of whose treason was by no means evident, writes to the Speaker of the Commons, and explains what he has done, and tries in this way to shift the responsibility off his own shoulders. He proposes that Lord Roche's property should be seized. He was a wicked old fox, that first Lord Cork, and this Broghill, who seizes Castletownroche, is walking in his father's steps. The father takes the land, and the son the houses, of an innocent man. Lord Roche ranked among the most loyal of any of the Anglo-Norman barons. Maurice was a faithful adherent to Charles II., with whom he shared his pay in Flanders, for some of these noble-minded men had to live on their commissions. Lord Roche might have made terms with Cromwell, had he possessed the same aptitude of changing sides as my Lord Broghill. No man paid more dearly for his loyalty to an ungrateful monarch than Lord Roche.

Cromwell advances from Castletown to Cahir, which he took with one of his clever missives. "Having brought my army and cannon near this place, I think it fit to offer you terms honorable to soldiers." They are at once accepted. He marches to Kilkenny, where he adopts a somewhat different style, and speaks of sins, and the judgments of God, but offers fair terms, which are accepted, after a lengthened correspondence,

and a breach in the walls. The citizens paid £2000 to save themselves from plunder. Cromwell marches from Kilkenny to Carrick-on-Suir, from which he writes the following letter respecting Cork-house, on Cork hill, Dublin. The "Countess of Cork," on whose behalf he writes, is the second earl's wife, and sister-in-law to Cromwell's most particular friend, Lord Broghill :—

"TO THE COMMISSIONERS AT DUBLIN, THESE :

"Carrick-on-Suir, 1st April, 1650.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Being desired by the Countess of Cork, that nothing may be done by way of disposal of such part of Cork-house as is holden of the Dean in Dublin (in case my Lord of Cork's interest be determined therein), and that my Lord of Cork may have the refusal thereof before any other, in regard his father has been at great charge in building thereof, and some part of the same house is my Lord's inheritance, and in that respect, the other part would not be so convenient for any other.

"Which motion I conceive to be very reasonable. And therefore I desire you not to dispose of any part of the said house to any person whatsoever, until you hear further from me; my Lady having undertaken, in a short time, as soon as she can come at the sight of her writings, so as to be satisfied what interest my Lord of Cork hath yet to come therein, my Lord will renew his term in the said house, or give full resolution therein. I rest your loving friend,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

Oliver marches to Clonmel, where victory seems disposed to desert his standard. More than half of his troops are enfeebled by sickness. To add to his perplexity, he hears the Catholic bishop of Ross is assembling an Irish army of 4,000 foot and 300 horse for the relief of the town. To end his successful campaign by a defeat, or even a retreat, is not to be thought of, he therefore sends to his trusty and well-beloved Broghill, who has never yet failed him, who takes the field at the head of 2,000 horse and the same number of foot, and marches to Kilcrea and Carrigadrohid castles, which he finds strongly garrisoned by the bishop, so he turns his horse's head in the direction of Macroom. The bishop fires this castle, and draws up his army in the park. Broghill charges, and puts the Irish to the rout, and succeeds in making their warlike bishop prisoner, to whom he offers pardon on the condition of his ordering the garrison of Carrigadrohid to deliver up the castle. They conducted the courageous churchman to the walls, as the Carthaginians carried Regulus to Rome, with the full persuasion that he would recommend his countrymen to surrender; "*Hold out to the last*" were his words; so they hanged him then and there. A shame upon you, Broghill.

The castle was taken by a very simple stratagem. The besiegers cut up trees to the size of cannon, yoked them—as if weighty metal—to a number of oxen, and had them planted opposite the walls. When the Irish saw the wooden ordnance, they began to parley, and finally agreed to surrender "upon articles."

Broghill hastened from Carrigadrohid to Clonmel, where Cromwell still lay, with his army greatly re-

duced and enfeebled by sickness. Morrice, who writes the memoirs of Lord Orrery, informs us that Cromwell was transported with joy at Broghill's arrival; that he embraced him, and applauded his late exploits, and that the whole of the protector's army cried out, "A Broghill! a Broghill!" The siege was renewed with vigor; Clonmel was taken, and then Waterford; after which, Cromwell returned to Youghal, where he had previously made his abode, and from which he embarked for England on the 29th of May, 1650, bearing with him the curse of every Catholic in the kingdom. He left the command of the army to Ireton, whom he appointed Lord President of Munster.

Ireton was engaged in the siege of Limerick, on the July of 1652, when Lord Muskerry raised an army for its relief. Lord Broghill, who received intelligence that a body of Lord Muskerry's horse had marched from the castle of Dromagh, near the Blackwater, gave pursuit. We give Lord Broghill's account of the affair:—"In the morning early, I passed the river, near Clonmeen, where I met with ninety Irish, who were under protection. I asked them what they were assembled for? They answered, they came out of curiosity to see the battle. Having asked them how they knew there was to be a battle? they answered, they had a prophecy that there was to be one fought on that ground, one time or other, and they knew none more likely than the present. Upon which I again asked them, on what side the victory was to fall? They shook their heads, and said the English are to get the day.

"Having begun to march to their camp, the Irish

drew out on my rear ; but I marched on, with eleven squadrons of horse, and fifteen of foot, in order to draw them out of the wood they had taken shelter in, and to bring them into the plain. The bridge-barrel was fired on either side, but the enemy did not answer our shout ; upon which a soldier cried out ' They are beaten already.' ' Yes, says I, and shall be worse beaten presently.' The left wing, under Wallis, and eighty musketeers, with pistol bullets in their pieces, fired all at once in two ranks, and I did the like on the right wing.

" I had given orders that each wing of horse should consist of five squadrons, three to charge and two to second. That the middle troop, being in a body, should pursue, while the other two did execution. The foot, also, I ordered to consist of five battalions, three to charge and two to second.

" As the enemy outflanked us both ways I drew to the right, with the right wing, upon which the enemy advanced that way with 1,000 musketeers, and with their horse fought, horse head to horse head, hacking with their swords, but at length I routed their left wing. The enemy appearing with 140 horse in my rere, I faced about and charged through them, and charging a second time, bid my men cry out " they run, they run," whereat their first rank looked back to see if their rere did run, and they seeing the faces of their front, whom they really thought began to fly from our people, began to run in earnest, and so they all fled."

The victory at one time seemed to be with the Irish, so much so, that Captain Banister, who fought on the

left wing of the English, rode off to Cork with the news of a defeat. The Irish never fought more bravely. Mac Donough Mac Carthy, the Lord of Duhallow, was slain as he charged at the head of a squadron of horse. "Not a horse officer of the Irish, except one, but he or his horse was killed or wounded. All the first rank of my squadron, being thirty-three, were either killed or wounded. We resolved not to give or take quarter; however, several had quarter after the battle." But no thanks to you, my Lord Broghill.

In a letter to the speaker, dated *Blairney*,* 1st August, 1652, he says, "We had a very fair execution for above three miles, and, indeed, it was bloody, *for I gave orders to kill all*, though some few prisoners, of good quality, were saved. All their foot field-officers charged on foot, with pikes in their hands, so that few of them got off, it being too farre from any bogs or woods, which, they say, they selected purposely, that their men might have no confidence but in their courages, but we relyed on a better strength than the arm of flesh, and when their strength failed them ours did not fail us. Their priests, all the way before they came to fight, encouraged them by speeches, but especially by sprinkling holy water on them, and by charms, of which I herewith send you a copy.† Many of them were found quilted in the doublets of the dead. Certainly they are a people strangely given over to destruction, who, though otherwise understanding

* *Blairney, or Blarney Castle*. Lord Broghill got possession of this castle, the property of Lord Muskerry, in 1646, where he sometimes resided.

† *Copy of the Spell*. "Jesu Christi, Filii Dei vivi, illumina me, Benedicte Mater Dei, Gubernatrix Angelorum et totius mundi, ora pro me ad benedictum Filium tuum florum, Angelorum ad Coronam, Cælorum et confessorum, Affligentium Civitatis sure Jerusalem Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Credo in Deum."

enough, let themselves be still deluded by ridiculous things and by more ridiculous persons. Had I been one of the charmed, I would have first tryed mine on the priest which gave it."

Our word, says Lord Broghill, was "*Prosperity!*"—theirs, "*St. James!*" Our signal, white in hats; theirs, green ferne.*

This is called the Battle of Knocknaclashy. The site is not more than half a mile from Banteen Bridge, which crosses the Blackwater, near Clonmeen.

Thou fain wouldst talk on's victory at Knocknaclashy,
And praise him next to God—the God-a-meroy.

"On my return to Limerick," says Broghill, "Ireton fired three volleys for joy of the victory." This battle was followed by the surrender of Limerick, the last action of importance in this country during the civil war.

Lord Muskerry had a narrow escape at the battle. He was afterwards apprehended and tried for his life, but was acquitted, and passed into Spain, and from thence to France, where he sought the office of Maitre de Camp, with Cardinal Mazarine for his colonel. O'Sullivan Beare petitioned the French monarch for money to carry on the war, but without success. Lord Inchiquin moved for the generalship of a new Irish army, but was reminded of his massacre of the priests at Cashel, which we here record, though a little out of date. It occurred in 1645:—

"All this while my Lord of Inchiquin overrun

* *Green fern.* One of the O'Callaghan's of the district in which this battle was fought is called Raith-na O'Callaghan, or, "O'Callaghan of the ferns," perhaps in commemoration of the green fern worn by the Irish in this engagement.

Munster, and coming to Cashel, the people retired to the Rock, where the cathedral church stands, and thought to defend it. But it was carried by storm, and the soldiers gave no quarters, so that within and without the church, there was a great massacre, and amongst others, more than twenty priests and religious men killed.”—*Earl of Castlehaven’s Memoirs*, p. 78.

The enemy being subdued, the conquerors set about dividing the spoil. “After the subduing of Ireland,” says Ludlow, “there was no small consultation how to divide every one’s portion, until at a general council of war, Lord Broghill proposed, that the kingdom might be surveyed, and the number of acres taken, with the quality of them, and then all the soldiers to bring in their demands of arrears, and so to give every man by lot, as many acres of ground as might answer the value of their arrears. The kingdom being surveyed, and the value of acres being given, the highest was estimated at four shillings the acre, and some only at a penny. Accordingly the soldiers drew lots for their several portions, and in that manner the whole forfeited lands were divided among the conquerors and adventurers for money. At the same time it was agreed that the *Irish* should be transplanted into Connaught, which so shattered them, that they never made any head afterwards.”

Lord Kinsale was one of those who was offered the alternative of “*Hell or Connaught* ;” but he had influential friends who petitioned Cromwell, who wrote to Fleetwood to let him pass. There may have been another reason—his property was very small.

Lord Muskerry saved the most of his property by

giving £1,000 a year to Lord Broghill, which was arranged with Ludlow, and the Land Commissioners, who made an order that Lord Muskerry's lady should enjoy her husband's estate, except £1,000 a year granted to Lord Broghill. It was in this way that the Boyle family acquired such an immense property. We discover from a subsidy, or sort of income tax, levied twenty years after this—in 1676—that the Earl of Cork had the best property of any man in Ireland. He paid £110, when the Duke of Ormond paid but £100, the Earl of Barrymore £30, the Earl of Clancarty £40, the Earl of Orrery (Lord Broghill) £20, Lord Courcy (Kinsale) £2, Lady Clancarty £15. Bishoprick of Cork and Ross £32 16s., of Cloyne £41 4s.—County and City of Cork, £1,364 18s.

Cromwell was not unmindful, in the distribution of the forfeited property, of his generals and friends. Sir William Penn, the famous sea-general of the commonwealth, who defended Youghal in 1645, when besieged by Lord Castlehaven, is particularly mentioned. In writing to Ireland in December 1654, he makes mention of his good and faithful services to the commonwealth, and directs that lands of the full value of £300 as they were let in 1640, should be surveyed and set apart for him. The lands were to lie in a convenient locality, and near a castle or fortified residence. The property selected was the castle and manor of Macroom, and here, on his release from the Tower, in 1656, he resided.* But Macroom, as we have shown,

* *He resided.* It was this circumstance that gave rise to the idea that Wm. Penn, the son, was born at Macroom Castle. He was born in London the 11th of October, 1644, that is twelve years before his father, the Admiral, went to reside at Macroom.

was the property of Lord Muskerry, who had suffered much in the royal cause, to whom it was, therefore, restored; but Admiral Penn got more than an equivalent in the Shannagarry estate, in the barony of Imokilly, in this county. We learn from Mr. Hepworth Dixon's life of William Penn, that the Admiral's title to this estate was disputed by Colonel Wallace, and that his son William, the famous Quaker, came to Ireland to defend his father's title before the Lord Commissioners, which he did most successfully. It was on this occasion, as we shall explain in our next chapter, that he was converted to Quakerism, got into prison in Cork, and turned out of doors by his father.

A number of Cromwell's soldiers became Quakers; nor were these forgotten in the general distribution. Their preaching ability would rather bring them into favor with their officers. Mr. Henry Cromwell, the protector's son, who became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, informs Thurloe that their meetings were attended by Colonel Phaire and Major Wallace, and most of the chief officers of Cork. Major Hodder, the governor of Kinsale, kept a Quaker to preach to the soldiers. But this state of things did not out-live the restoration. The following biographical sketch of Richard Pike, a Cork Quaker, will be read with interest:—

“Some years after the rebellion of Ireland, the English government sent an army for the reduction of the country; and in or before the year 1648, my father, then a young man, became acquainted with an officer, a captain of horse, who was ordered over. He offered him a small command, that of a corporal in the

troop ; which he, after taking into consideration, accepted, at that time believing war to be lawful, in a just cause. He accordingly came to Ireland, where in several military actions, he behaved himself with great bravery and courage ; and while he remained in the army, was much beloved by those who were best acquainted with him, being considered a man of honesty, sobriety, and justice.

“When the war was ended, he, with others, had allotments of land for their arrears ; yet he continued in the army for some time, until he was convinced of the Lord’s everlasting truth ; and because, for conscience sake, he could not use arms for the destruction of mankind, he was turned out of the army, after which he betook himself to a country life.

“On his marriage, which was before his conviction, he considered of a place of settlement, and having been a sober, frugal man, he had a handsome competency of stock to begin with ; also, being acquainted with and beloved by many of superior degree, they procured for him a *custodium* upon a place called Sarsfield Court,* about four miles from Cork, a situation which, at that time, carried a prospect of considerable advantage. It was, however, taken from him after he joined in communion with Friends, about the year 1655, when the Lord sent that faithful minister of Christ, Edward Burrough, by whom both my father and my mother were convinced of the truth, as professed by the Lord’s people called Quakers.

* *Sarsfield Court*. Nothing more than the four walls of this court or castle remain. It is on the property of Charles Putland, Esq., in the parish of Rathcooney, about one mile and a half to the north of the village of Glanmire, in this county.

“After this he took a farm, called Kiloreagh, seven miles west of Cork, where he lived for some years, and there was I born, the 15th of the 11th month, called January, 1657. In the year 1664, they disposed of their stock in the country, and came to Cork, where they kept a shop, and educated their children reputably, yet in plainness, according to truth, and in every respect they endeavoured to bring them up in the nurture and fear of the Lord.

“But to turn back a little. Some time after they were married; his father, not knowing he was convinced of the truth, invited him over to England, offering to settle some estate on him if he would pay a mortgage that was upon part of it. Accordingly they both went, and were received by their relations with extraordinary kindness, for upon their first embraces my father’s *hat fell off*, so that his father did not instantly perceive he was turned Quaker. But in a little time, finding that my father used the plain language (*thee* and *thou* to a single person) his father grew angry and sour, and seemed to change his mind as to the settlement he had promised, so they came back to Ireland, and never, that I heard, got anything from him.

“Now to proceed—though the government was changed in the year 1660, when King Charles the Second came in, and thereupon the old persecutors were turned out; yet the same spirit appeared in the new magistrates, both in England and Ireland. Meetings were disturbed and broken up, and Friends cast into prison. Those who lived in this city (Cork) had their share, many being sent to gaol, where some con-

tinued a long time; among those was my dear father, who with others being closely confined and crowded together, got a violent cold, which in the end turned to a dangerous distemper, and growing very weak, the gaoler not having suitable accommodation in prison for him, by reason of the throng, allowed him to go home for some days, where he grew weaker and weaker. I well remember that Susanna Mitchell, that worthy servant of the Lord and mother in Israel, came on a First-day morning to visit him—he dying the fifth day following.

“His words were so powerful, and so pierced my heart in particular, that as soon as he had done, I remember I went out of the room into another, in great agony of spirit. Some of his exhortations during his sickness were committed to writing and read at his burial, previous to which it was advised that as he had been a prisoner, his corpse should be carried to the gaol and offered to the gaoler, which was accordingly done, and he refusing to receive it, it was then carried to the grave-yard and decently interred, his body being the first that was laid there; and with him, in the same grave, was buried his youngest child Benjamin, who died either on the same day as his father, or the day following.”—*See Life of Joseph Pike*, pp. 2, 3, 4, 6.

CHAPTER V.

RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.—LORD BROGHILL—CATHOLIC PETITIONERS—WILLIAM PENN.

A.D. 1657—1685.

THERE is a tide in the affairs of nations as well as men. No one knew this better, or watched the ebb and flow of public opinion more closely than my Lord Broghill. He was the fast friend of Cromwell and the Commonwealth, and one of the first to hail the restoration of Charles II. He sends his brother, Francis,*—afterwards Lord Shannon—to Brussels, with a scrap of paper “nicely quilted in the collar of his doublet,” to inform Charles that he has 5000 Protestants at his command. Charles, who knows that General Monk and others, are preparing the way for his restoration in England, is grateful, but declines the offer.

Broghill is in private treaty with Sir Charles Coote,†—who also acted with Cromwell—respecting the time and manner of declaring for the new king. Sir Charles writes Broghill to say their private “design had began to take air;” and he had better lose

* *Francis*, the fourth son of the first Earl of Cork, was created Viscount Shannon in 1660, which honor expired with his grandson and successor, but was resumed in 1756, by Henry Boyle, of Castlemartyr, grandson of Lord Broghill.

† *Sir Charles Coote* was raised to the peerage, by the title of the Earl of Mount-rath, in 1661. His father, Sir Charles, made a surprising passage through Mountrath woods, for the relief of Birr, in 1642. Both father and son fought on the side of the parliament. The father was slain in a sally at Trim, in 1642.

no time. Broghill is somewhat startled, but sees the necessity—lest he should be anticipated by some one else—so Charles is proclaimed in Cork, on the 18th of May, and the same day Colonel Phaire, Cromwell's governor of Cork, and one with whom my Lord Broghill had often taken sweet counsel, is sent prisoner to Dublin Castle, and Colonel Courthorp appointed governor in his stead.

Carlyle calls Phaire, or Phayr, "*He of the king's death-warrant.*" Whatever may have been his acts, in the affair of the king's death, he was a consistent republican. We find him, as governor of Cork in 1654, and Colonel Saunders as governor of Kinsale, declaring for the English Parliament, and *against* Cromwell, when that great English general and dictator entered the house, with three hundred armed men, and turned out the members. But we do not find Phaire's name among the Committee appointed to wait on Cromwell, and ask him to accept the crown. The second name on that list is "Lord Broghill," who was one of the speakers in that farce to "*Advise your highness to assume the title and office of king.*" His speech, which is a long one, and the Lord Protector's reply, may be seen in an interesting work called "TREASON'S MASTERPIECE; or, a Conference held at Whitehall, between Oliver, the late Usurper, and a Committee of the then Pretended Parliament, who desired him to take upon him the title of the King of England, with an intent to exclude the royal line, wherein," continues the title page, which—like a Scotch grace, is as long as my arm—"many of the leading men of those times did, by unanswerable argu-

ments, assert and prove MONARCHY to be the only legal, ancient, and necessary form of government in those kingdoms." This was, indeed, beating the Cromwellians with their own weapons.

On the 11th of April, 1657, Lord Broghill was one of a committee to offer the crown to Cromwell, in the Palace of Whitehall. In the May of 1660, he had the audacity to appear in the same palace, among the Irish nobility, by the side of my Lords Ormond, Muskerry, Roche, Castlehaven, and a host of loyal men, who met there to congratulate the king on his happy return; not only so, but he took his pen and expressed his joyful sentiments, and those of the three kingdoms, in a poem. Oh, shades of Cromwell and Ireton, is this the man who ran to succour you in the hour of your peril at Clonmel and Limerick? Is this the man whom you welcomed with volleys, and whom your soldiers saluted with "A Broghill! a Broghill!" Is this the hero of Knocknaclashy? *Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis*. A poet of a kindred spirit to his own, who had seen some of Broghill's poetry in manuscript, writes—

"His sacred poems, now but in the press,
Will speak his noble praise in fairer dress."

Such genius and merit could not fail of its reward in the court of Charles II., who was proverbial for neglecting his real friends* and rewarding his enemies. Broghill was created Earl of Orrery, and was sworn of the Privy Council of England and Ireland, and appointed, by commission, Lord President of Munster. His commission bore date the 24th of April, 1660.

* *Proverbial for neglecting his real friends.*—"Do good to your enemies, your friends will not injure you," was Clarendon's advice to this monarch.

The Earl of Orrery, or Lord Broghill, as we shall continue to call him, had not left the court, when a number of Irish lords and gentlemen petitioned to be restored to their estates. A commission was appointed to try their claims, of which Broghill—who, with his brothers, possessed the largest portion of the forfeited estates of the county—was a member. The petitioners, knowing their hopes, were desperate with such a man as their judge, offered him a bribe of £8,000 in ready money, and £7,000 a year, provided he would not appear against them. Broghill refused the offer. He might be required to disgorge more than this. He had lately got £1,000 a year of Lord Muskerry's estates.

The king, attended by the now Duke of Ormond, was present at the commission. The petitioners were represented by Sir Nicholas Plunket, who spoke of their loyalty, and all they had suffered under the late usurper, Cromwell, how unjustly they had been deprived of their estates, and a number of them driven into Connaught. Broghill, who was an orator as well as poet, stood up to reply. He congratulated his majesty on his happy return, and took the opportunity of reminding him that his Irish Protestant subjects had been among the first to move for his restoration ; and left it to the *board* to say whether, on *that* account, they did not deserve some favor. This was a master stroke—"on that account." They had been the first to bring back the king. He then turned to Plunket, handed him a paper, and said, "Is that your handwriting?" Plunket is knocked all of a heap, but has to acknowledge it. The paper contained a declaration

of the supreme council, declaring their purpose to prosecute the Lord Ormond, the king's most particular friend, who is sitting by the king's side at this commission. He produced a second paper, which contained instructions from the supreme council to Plunket and others, to go to Rome, and in their names to offer Ireland to the Pope. If the Pope refused, to the King of Spain. If the King of Spain refused, to the King of France. If the King of France refused, to the Duke of Lorraine. And, if he refused, to any other Catholic prince who would accept it. "Are these men," said Broghill, turning to them with an ineffable scowl of contempt—"Are these men, who have offered to give away a kingdom from his majesty, likely to prove good subjects."

Charles asked Broghill for the documents, perused them, and declared he was fully satisfied the petitioners deserved all they had suffered; and gave it as his decision that the English should enjoy the estates which the Irish had clearly forfeited. In conclusion, he was astonished at the audacity of the petitioners appearing before him with so much guilt upon their consciences; so they were dismissed in disgrace from the royal presence. Was ever audacity more triumphant. Would no one get up and ask who it was that offered the crown and kingdom to Cromwell?

The petitioners made a mistake in selecting Plunket—who was mixed up with the ultramontane party—as their leader. But Ormond, who was present, should have explained to the king—we conclude that he did so afterwards—that a large number of the petitioners had nothing whatever to do with the violent

proceedings of Rinnucini, or what was styled the Supreme Council. The objects of the Confederates, as we have shown by their printed declaration, were loyal, constitutional, and reasonable. "Their claim," says Carlyle, who worshipped Cromwell, "was for religious freedom. Their claim, we can now all see, *was just, essentially just*, though full of intricacy." Of this intricacy Lord Broghill took advantage.

There were some concessions made to Catholics this year. Many of the inhabitants of Youghal were allowed, by letters patent, bearing date the 14th of February, 1660, to take possession of the property of which they had been deprived during the commonwealth, they being certified "Innocent Papists." The Duke of Ormond succeeded, in the May of 1661, in getting Lord Muskerry restored to his honors, and most of his estates; but Castlemore and some other places remained in the possession of Broghill and other English adventurers.

Lord Broghill displayed great zeal in the discovery of Popish plots, and in the hunting up and driving out all sorts of fanatics. He was the Irish Titus Oates of his day. Maurice says, "The Lord Orrery, in order effectually to keep all things quiet in the province, had several spies placed up and down, to whom he allowed annual pensions, who gave him constant intelligence of all things that stirred, and by this means he discovered the above mentioned plot"—to seize the castle of Dublin. It appears from the following letter of Charles I. to Orrery that there was something in this plot to seize Dublin castle:—

"Whitehall, June 13th, 1663.

"MY LORD OF ORRERY,

"Though I had, before I received yours of May 23rd, a relation of the conspiracy against the castle of Dublin, from my Lord of Ormond, as also of the part you had in the discovery of it; yet I was glad to read in yours many more particulars, especially for the application you used to prevent the further growth of this villany, which was so much, according to my judgment, that I cannot but recommend to you the same manner of proceeding, if we shall be so unhappy as to meet with any more such occasions.

"In the meantime, I desire you to be assured, that I have all the value I ought for your affection to my service, and that I shall, on all occasions, requite it, as

"Your very affectionate friend,

"CHARLES R."

The earl thinks he has discovered another plot, though, we suspect, that this time he found a mare's nest, but, if a real plot, the most horrible, in Charles' estimate, of any which had preceded it, namely, to restore the Long Parliament. There were forty members in the plot, who called themselves the *Old Blades*, for they set themselves to buy up all the old armour in the country. Ludlow was to be general;* the Dutch were to join them. They were to kill all who opposed them, to pull down the king and his lords; and instead of bishops, to set up a "sober ministry."

* *Ludlow was to be general.* This honest and consistent republican narrowly escaped being arrested at the restoration. He fled to Dieppe, and from thence to Switzerland. He returned to England in 1689, where he was again threatened with arrest, and therefore fled to Venice, where he died in 1693, aged 73. His independence rendered him obnoxious to Cromwell, who had him sent to Ireland.

The proof of this terrible conspiracy is by no means clear. A man named Brown, a republican—or Independent, we suspect—comes to an ensign Tambler, and after many groans and lamentations on the depravity of the age, tells him of the plot; Tambler tells his wife; his wife tells her friend, Mrs. Captain Oliver, whom she binds to secrecy; Mrs. Captain cannot keep such a terrible secret from her husband; Captain Oliver tells it to the Duke of Ormond, and the duke sends the captain to Lord Orrery, who was over the state plot department. We have now informed the reader all we know of this terrible plot, and all any one else knows of it, save and except the aforementioned Brown. There is one suspicious circumstance we omitted to mention, *there were arms found in gunsmiths' houses!* GUNS we suspect.

His lordship, in his character of President of Munster, summoned the bishop, mayor, aldermen, principal citizens, and officers of the line and militia, to meet him in Cork on a certain day in June, 1667. They came, when he harangued them on the burning of the fleet at Chatham, and concluded by ordering them “to suppress all conventicles in the city and suburbs, and to seize and punish, according to law, all those who either conducted, or attended such services. It was on this occasion that Lowe, and his disciple, William Penn, the famous Quaker, were committed to the public gaol. Doctor Smith calls Lowe a quartermaster, who had lately come from England. Mr. Hepworth Dixon speaks of him as Penn’s “old college friend, Thomas Loe.”

“About this period,” says Crofton Croker, “the

sect called Quakers appeared in Cork, and there one of its most eminent members first became a convert to those opinions, which he afterwards carried into legislative effect—I speak of the illustrious William Penn. Curiosity induced him to visit a religious meeting where the doctrines of Quakerism were explained by Thomas Lowe, who expatiated with so much force on the text, ‘There is a faith that overcometh the world, and there is a faith that is overcome by the world,’ as to make a proselyte of Penn, who constantly afterwards attended their meetings, and assumed the garb of the society. Colonel Phaire, the governor of Cork, and several of the republican soldiers in the garrison, also became converts to the same tenets.

“On the 3rd of September, 1667, Penn, being at a meeting in that city, was apprehended, with many others, and carried before the mayor—Timothy Tuckey—who, observing his dress was less primitive than that of his companions, or perhaps recollecting that his father, Sir William Penn, was a man of considerable power and influence both in the country and in England, would have set him at liberty upon giving bond for his future good behaviour, which Penn refused to do, and was committed with eighteen others to the common prison. Immediately on his commitment, he wrote a manly letter to Lord Orrery, President of Munster, then at Charleville, who ordered his discharge, but suffered his fellow-prisoners to remain until released in the due course of law.

“Amongst the early religious associates of Penn was John Exham, distinguished by the name of ‘the Quaker Prophet,’ an eccentric fanatic, originally a

soldier under Cromwell, but who, on the appearance of Quakerism, took a leading part in the dissemination of its pacific doctrines. His enthusiasm was so great, about the time of Penn's imprisonment, that he walked through the streets, his head covered with sackcloth and ashes, preaching repentance and amendment of life, for which he suffered a long and severe imprisonment."—*Croker's "South of Ireland,"* p. 198.

The three paragraphs we have quoted from Crofton Croker—a most pleasant and interesting writer—contain, for certain, two, and we strongly suspect, three mistakes. There is no such text in the bible as Croker quotes:—"There is a faith that overcomes the world, and there is a faith that is overcome of the world." The words which report says were the means of Penn's conversion to Quakerism, occur in the first epistle of John, fifth chapter and fourth verse, and read thus:—"This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." Again, Colonel Phaire, whom Croker represents as the governor of Cork, and a convert to Quakerism at this time, was arrested and sent to Dublin six years before this. Again, as this was the first time that William Penn—who had been sent over from England to Cork to look after his father's Irish property—had met the Quakers, we do not see how John Exham, the mad Quaker, can be classed among Penn's early religious associates. Penn was by no means a mad, but, on the contrary, a most sober-minded Quaker.

John Exham, the prophet, predicted a judgment on Lord Orrery, or rather on his *house*, which had a remarkable fulfilment. His lordship had built a stately

mansion at Rathgogan, now Charleville—the name was changed in honor of Charles II.—Exham stood before the door and denounced a curse upon the building. His lordship's servants were about to lay violent hands on the prophet, when his lordship interfered to save him, which induced the poor crazed man to modify his malediction and say, "*The evil shall not be in thy days.*" The house was burned to the ground by the Irish, twenty-three years after this, in 1690, by order of the Duke of Berwick, son of James II., after dining there.

Lord Orrery had now attained the meridian of terrestrial honor, and his sun began to decline. The year after the curse—if the reader will excuse our dating from such an event—his lordship was required to surrender his commission as Lord President of Munster. He received intimation after this that his credit at court was on the decline, and posted off to London to bolster it up. While in London he is seized with the gout, and while in the gout, informed, by the Master-at-arms, that articles are laid before the House of Commons impeaching him of treason. He must attend to defend himself notwithstanding the gout. A friend meets him, hobbling up the steps from Westminster Hall to the Court of Requests, and remarks on his weakness. "Yes, sir," said old Orrery, with all the fiery and boastful spirit of young Broghill, "my feet are weak, but if my heels will serve to carry me up, I promise you my head shall bring me down again." He was right. He managed to escape, principally through the influence of Lord Inchiquin.

After this, we are told, "his lordship concerned

himself but little with public affairs, but spent the remainder of his life in a christian preparation for eternity." He died at Castlemartyr, in the October of 1679, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. The following lines, entitled "Minerva's Check to the Author, for attempting to write an Elegy on the Right Honorable and much-to-be-lamented Roger, first Earl of Orrery, were printed in London in 1680." We shall only quote a few of them, for the reader will agree with us, that in this instance Minerva herself requires a "check":—

"That news hath winds we every day doth find,
And ill doth ever leave the best behind;
Admire not then the death of Orrery;
Renown'd all's days, should in a moment flie
Both far and near, the world to terrifie,
At Cork, at Dublin, London, and at Paris
Too soon't arrives, and Rome, but there ne'er tarries,
Till at both Indies, or where'er more far is."

The Earl of Orrery was succeeded by his son Lionel, who does not appear to have taken any active part in public affairs. He died, without issue, on the 23rd of August, 1703, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles, who was created a peer of England, by the title of Baron Boyle of Marston. It was from this son that the sphere, or astronomical machine, called an Orrery, derived its name; although the credit of the invention belongs to Mr. George Graham, a watch-maker in London. Mr. Desaguliers, in his course of experimental philosophy, 4to., London 1734, i, p. 431, remarks, "This machine, being in the hands of an instrument maker, to be sent with some of his own instruments to Prince Eugene, he copied it,

and made the first for the late Earl of Orrery, and then several others, with additions of his own."

Planetary machines were used by the Chinese at a very remote period, and by Archimedes and Posidonius, to which Cicero makes reference in a passage, from which Paley may have borrowed his idea of the watch:—

"If the sphere lately made by our friend Posidonius, which marks the course of the sun, and the moon, and the five wandering stars, were to be transported into Scythia, or to *Britain*, who—*even in those barbarous countries*—would doubt, whether reason had presided over its construction? Yet these people—the Epicureans—doubt whether the universe, whence all things arise and are made, is not the effect of chance, or of some necessity, rather than of reason, and a *Divine Mind*. And they regard Archimedes as more deserving of praise in *imitating* the changes of the sphere, than *Nature* in producing them."—*De Nat. Deor. lib. ii., cap. 34 & 35.*

The Catholics were treated with as much harshness during Charles' reign as during Cromwell's usurpation. This was not so much the fault of the king as of the laws and the times, which he could not change. An imprudent and illegal, but conscientious effort to relieve his co-religionists from this thralldom lost James II. his crown. Charles, with more wisdom, and less conscientiousness, left these things to mend themselves. He was too lax and indifferent—we shall not say enlightened—to persecute any man for his creed, but there was, notwithstanding, a great deal of persecution under his reign, both in England and Ireland.

A proclamation was issued in 1673, forbidding Catholics to enter the cities of Dublin, Cork, Waterford, or Limerick. By another proclamation, they were ordered to be removed from all walled towns. We conclude, from the frequency of these proclamations, and the clearing out of the Catholic inhabitants, that their re-admission was winked at by the general body of the Protestants. In 1677 there was another proclamation compelling the Irish to hold their markets without the walls. If admitted in too great numbers, they might overmaster the city, for Titus Oates and his imaginary, or rather manufactured popish plots were in vogue at this time, and Cork was not behind Derry, Kilkenny, or Limerick in declaring their abhorrence and detestation of "*the plot*." This loyal abhorrence was expressed in the June of 1682.

We have no event of more importance with which to close transactions of this reign than the occurrence of "a most severe frost" in 1683. "The river Lee was frozen for many weeks, and carriages passed over from the ferry slip to the east marsh."

Doctor Smith, who is followed by Mr. Tuckey and others, erroneously closes this reign in 1683, instead of 1685.

CHAPTER VI.

JAMES II.—WILLIAM III.

A.D. 1685—1690.

NOTHING could be more anomalous than the condition of James II. on ascending the English throne. He, a professed and sincere Catholic, stands pledged* to enforce laws which bear heavily against all dissenters from the established faith, and against those of his own persuasion† in particular. It is difficult to decide whether he was more to blame in taking or in breaking such a pledge. The temptations in both cases were great—in one a temporal, and in the other a spiritual crown.

But having once decided on breaking or repudiating what he may have esteemed a sinful compromise, he acted boldly and above board. "The king," says Hume, "went openly, and with all the ensigns of his dignity, to mass, an illegal meeting." He even sent Caryl, his agent, to Rome, to pave the way for the re-admission of England into the bosom of the Catholic church. Innocent XI. advised the king not to be too

* *Pledged*.—"The first act of James's reign was to assemble the privy-council, where he made professions of his resolution to maintain the established government, both in church and state."—*Hume's History of England*, vol. viii. p. 204.

† *His own persuasion*. "We are told"—said the Quakers, in their address—"that thou art not of the persuasion of the Church of England. No more are we; wherefore, we hope thou wilt grant us the same liberty which thou allowest thyself; which doing, we wish thee all manner of happiness."

precipitate ; Ronquillo ventured to remonstrate, and say that churchmen were too busy at court. "Is it not the custom in Spain," said James, "for the king to consult with his confessor?"—"It is," replied the witty Frenchman, "and for that very reason our affairs succeed so ill."

But James was resolved, in spite of friend and foe, to press boldly forward in the re-conversion of the English nation, and take the bull by the horns. Had he known the nature and strength of that animal, he would never have attempted anything so desperate or fool-hardy. James was not the man to take any sort of bull by the horns. Henry VIII. might do it, before the animal had become quite conscious of its strength ; and Oliver Cromwell might do it after this, in his own cunning way, by going round and round about the bull. But to face the animal, and to flaunt a scarlet robe or a pair of purple stockings between his very eyes, was positive madness. He dashed upon the royal tauridor and threw him right over the barriers ; causing him to flee for safety to the feet of the Grand Monarch of France, who had watched the whole proceeding with the most sovereign equanimity.

But James did not allow to others the same liberty of conscience which he sought for himself and his fellow-religionists. We find him superseding his own brother-in-law—Henry, second Earl of Clarendon—in the government of Ireland, as he would not change his religion. Friendship, gratitude, and even the ties of kindred were sacrificed on the altar of his faith. This nobleman, who received the freedom of the city of Cork in a gold box in 1685, was removed from the

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1686, to give place to Richard, Duke of Tyrconnell, better known as "Lying Dick Talbot," who had not the virtue of being faithful to his too-confiding master. Hallam says, "he looked at his master's interests in subordination to those of his own." I believe, there is no doubt, that he at one time indulged the ambitious thought of placing the crown of Ireland on his own head.*

Writs of quo-warranto were issued in 1686, under the administration of Tyrconnell, against all the Corporations of Ireland this year, and judgment entered against most of the charters. Catholics, under the new regime, were admitted to the privileges of freemen, but we do not find that Protestants were disfranchised. The agents employed in this affair were Sir Richard Nagle of Annakissy, and the Chief Baron Rice. Doctor Smith styles them "the fittest instruments to carry on this work."

Sir Richard's character does not impress the reader with any idea of his clemency. Sir Thomas Southwell, of Castle Mattress, in the county Limerick, was sentenced to death at Galway. King James having resolved to grant him a pardon, was told by Sir Richard that it was out of his power, that the act of attainder was a bar to the royal prerogative of mercy. The king persisted, notwithstanding, in granting the pardon. This Sir Thomas lived to become Baron Southwell.†

* *The crown of Ireland on his own head.* He was in treaty with Bonrepos, a French agent, on this subject. M. Mazure has brought this fact to light. See his *Hist. de la Révolut.*, ii., 281-288; iii., 430.

† *Baron Southwell*, of Castle Mattress, was elevated to the peerage of Ireland, September 4, 1717. Sir Richard Southwell, a granduncle of this nobleman, had a license for keeping forty taverns within the city and liberties of Limerick, to sell wine and aqua-vitæ. The Southwells of Kinsale were distinguished for their hospit

The Lord Lieutenant Tyrconnell visited Cork in 1686, and was sumptuously entertained by the new corporation, presided over by Christopher Crofts, as chief magistrate.

The tables were now turned on the Protestants. The Catholics began to display their loyalty by robbing the sassanachs of their flocks and herds, being accompanied in some of their raids by pipers, who gave them music for their mutton.

The townsmen of Bandon, who had disarmed the royalist garrison, under the command of Captain Daniel O'Neill, were fined £1,000, "*with the demolition of their walls, which were then razed to the ground, and never since rebuilt.*" Tyrconnell thought they got off too cheap. In a letter, dated March 10th, 1689, he regrets that Clancarty had entered into a treaty with the people of Bandon till the authors of the assault upon the garrison had been brought to justice.

It was Lieutenant-general Justin Mac Carthy that was employed to punish the Bandonians. We have a graphic description of this affair from the pen of Joseph Pike. "The English of Bandon revolted, and turned out the Irish garrison, upon which an army of Irish horse and foot gathered at Cork to reduce them. Justin Mac Carthy, afterwards Lord Mountcashel,* commanded them. Before they went towards Bandon, some of the soldiers or others, laid a design to plunder the house of Richard Terry, who lived out of the South

* *Justin Mac Carthy, afterwards Lord Mountcashel* — We conclude he was so created by James II. in Cork, when taking charge of the 5000 troops that formed the first instalment of the Irish Brigade. He was afterwards badly wounded and made prisoner by the Enniskilleners at Newtown-Butler, from whom he escaped. He was accused of breaking his parole, but was tried and acquitted by a Court of Honor, in France. He died in France of a wound received in the chest at the battle of the Boy.

Gate, at the Red Abbey, and, in order thereto, got into the tower there, and made some shots out of it, then gave out that the English were gathering there, to rise with the Bandon people; upon which abundance of Irish gathered, and a hideous noise there was; and thereupon the designers plundered the house.

“ I remember, that at the very time of this hurly-burly, my cousin, Samuel Randall and I, walking on the Custom-house quay, saw a multitude of people, but knew not the cause of their assembling; and hastening into town we found the troopers riding violently along the streets, with drawn swords; the soldiers running to arms; the Irish in an uproar, crying out ‘ The Bandon people are come, and killing thousands out of South Gate;’ others, in confusion, cried out ‘ Kill them all, kill them all,’ and some looked wickedly upon us two, with countenances full of mischief; yet we got safely through them to my house. During this time of confusion, many husbands left their families and houses and ran on board the first ship they could get, as did also many women and children, as believing the English would be all slain. The ships sailing directly for England carried the news that all the English were murdered; but in a little time this confusion ceased, when the true cause was known.”—*Life of Joseph Pike*, pp. 51, 52.

The Clancarty here mentioned was Donough, the fourth earl. The Lord of Muskerry, who was created Earl of Clancarty by Charles II., died in London in 1665. He had three sons, Charles, Callaghan, and Justin. Charles was slain in a sea-fight with the Dutch, in June 2nd, 1665. He was a great favorite

of the Duke of York, and was interred at Westminster. His son, Charles James, died a minor, and his uncle, Callaghan, who had been educated in France, became Earl of Clancarty. He married Elizabeth, daughter to the Earl of Kildare, by whom he had four daughters and one son, named Donough, the fourth earl. This Donough was educated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and bred up carefully at Oxford. His uncle, Justin, (without the knowledge of his friends) married him, when not more than sixteen years of age, to the Earl of Sunderland's daughter, and sent him into this kingdom, where he continued a Protestant, until the arrival of Tyrconnel, by whom he was made Lieutenant-General of the Horse.

But this was no more than a name, for he must provide himself with horses, arms, and men. Of men he had no lack, but of arms and horses he stood sadly in need. To provide arms he made a night assault upon the city of Cork, and disarmed all the Protestants. The horses he seized in the neighbouring towns and villages. He attacked Castlemartyr, the residence of Colonel Boyle, where he took the horses and arms of a hundred and forty gentlemen, who made no resistance. He seized the property of poor as well as rich. A Mallow butcher, whose horse had been forcibly carried off, sought and obtained legal reparation. The judge required the Irish nobleman to make restitution. He sent a number of his troopers to Mallow, *to do so*. They tossed the butcher in a blanket, till they bumped and bruised him to death. The butcher's family got compensation for the murder from King William, who granted them £500 per annum of Mac

Carthy's estate. The lands were called, "*The estate of the Butcher of Conscience.*"

It was the policy of James and his friend, Louis, to make Ireland a royal arsenal, as well as a place of refuge. We may say with Virgil—

"Hic illius arma; his currus fuit."

"Hoc regnum Dea gentibus esse
Si qua fata sinanti jam tum tenditque fonetque."

Of all towns in Ireland, Kinsale was the most favoured by foreign landings. James II. came from France to Kinsale on the 12th of March, 1689. He was accompanied by the famous French ambassador, Count Avaux, whose duty it was to regulate all the movements of the royal fugitive. He left Kinsale on the 14th for Cork, where he was hailed with enthusiasm. The following entry from the Cork Grand Jury Book, 12th March, 1688:—

"We present that four hundred and twenty pounds be raised in the County of Cork, to be paid to George Crofts, Esq., who is forthwith to furnish the French fleet with fifty fat oxen, and four hundred fat weathers; the same to be given to the admiral, officers, and seamen of the said fleet, as a small acknowledgment of the universal thanks due to them from this kingdom in general, but from us, more particularly, for transporting his Majesty hither, we having the first blessings of his Majesty's presence in this country, for which we and our posterity shall ever praise God. George Crofts to be satisfied for grazing the said cattle till the return of the French fleet."

James was met by Donough, Earl of Clancarty,

whom he appointed one of the lords of the bed-chamber, making his regiment a regiment of guards.

Five thousand French troops landed in Kinsale the day James left for Cork, under the command of Count Lauzun and the Marquis de Lary, to replace which James sent over 5,270 Irish, under the command of General Mac Carthy. Here we have the first instalment of the famous Irish Brigade.

James was delayed in Cork about a fortnight,* for want of horses and baggage carts. Avaux says it took days to draw the money—which he brought from France—from Kinsale to Dublin, although the amount was by no means considerable. It is probable there was more brass than silver and gold in the military chests.

He arrived in Dublin on the 24th of March, where he assembled a parliament, and in his speech from the throne, thanked the Irish for their courage, loyalty, and zeal, extolled the generosity of the French king, and insisted on his design of establishing liberty of conscience. Some very popular measures were enacted on this occasion. Among the most so, was one declaring Ireland independent of the English parliament; another exempted all dissenters from ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and another, that the tithes payable by Catholics should be given to the clergymen of that communion.

A bill was passed in this parliament for repealing the act of Settlement, which secured to Protestants the possession of forfeited estates. A bill of attainder

* *About a fortnight.* "Where he remained about two weeks, and then proceeded to Dublin."—*Life of Joseph Pike*, p. 48.

was also passed against those Protestants who had fled the kingdom, and were in communication with the king's enemies. There were about three thousand attainted by this bill, including one duke, two archbishops, seventeen earls, seven countesses, seven bishops, eighteen barons, thirty-three baronets, fifty-one knights, and eighty-three clergymen—who were declared traitors, and adjudged to death and forfeiture of estates.

It was soon after this, on the 18th of June, 1689, that James issued his proclamation for the receiving brass money. Richard Maunsell, of Cork, narrowly escaped hanging for refusing to take it. James could have adopted no more unwise measure. "When the Irish," says Cox, "saw the same piece pass for five shillings in their quarter, and but for a penny in ours, they began to dispute that coin; and if they had been more thoughtful they had, by that disproportion, estimated the value of both governments." There can be no doubt, as we have stated before, that the Spaniards made themselves most popular, by the free circulation of the pure Spanish dollar. Tyrconnell, in the end, was forced to decry the base coin, which was a project of Lord Melfort. Cox says, some gave Avaux credit for this bright thought, hoping, in this way, to decrease the draw on his master's treasury. Great quantities of this money was found in the Mint, in Dublin, after the battle of the Boyne. It was finally decreed by the Lords Justices on the 20th of February, 1691.

A French fleet of forty-four ships, under the command of Count de Chateau Renaud, appeared off Baltimore, on the 29th of April, and entered Bantry Bay.

The fleet contained a large quantity of military stores, and a further supply of money. To give Louis XIV. his due, he behaved like a prince and a gentleman to James. An English fleet, under Admiral Herbert, appeared next morning before the mouth of the bay. The French bore down upon them with twenty-eight men-of-war and six fire-ships, and opened upon the *Defiance*, which led the English van. Herbert made several tacks, to gain the wind, and engage the enemy at close quarters, but failed; so they "continued battering upon a stretch till five in the afternoon," when the English sailed for Plymouth, to repair damages, and the French re-entered Bantry Bay. Herbert had about a hundred killed—among the number Captain George Aylmer, a lieutenant—and two hundred and fifty wounded. Both sides claimed the victory, and to render the decision more doubtful the House of Commons passed a vote of thanks to Herbert, and James ordered bonfires and a *Te Deum* for Chateau Renaud.

James appointed Lord Clare and M. Boileau, governors of Cork, who appeared to have acted with severity towards the Protestants. "On the 11th of August, the Lord Clare, governor of Cork, committed all the Protestants of the city to St. Peter's, Christ Church,* and the Court-Houses; on the 10th of September several were sent to Blarney Castle; on the 11th, many to Macroom; and October the 13th, all the churches were shut up. In several places the governors went into houses and shops, seized what they

* *Christ Church*. "A bomb fell through the roof of Christ Church, but by God's providence, it did no damage."—*Cox*.

found, without the formality of a pretence, and took it away. M. Boileau, (who was governor of Cork with Lord Clare,) not failing in any punctilio of his country-dragooning, was supposed to have sent off for France to the value of £30,000 in money, leather, and other commodities, the spoils of the Protestants of this rich city."

Dean Davies,* a Cork man, and a chaplain in King William's Irish army, writes from London, the 11th of April, when hearing of the state of affairs at Cork—he gets the news as he returns from the coronation of William and Mary.

"The procession was very sumptuous, according to the printed account of it. The king went stooping, but no more under the crown than under the cap of maintenance. He looked very brisk and cheerful, and the queen abundantly more, and I pray God preserve them! About seven in the evening, I got into the Park, having been at Westminster fourteen hours, and received an account that King James, in Ireland, proceeded very severely against the Protestants, and, notwithstanding that he had promised a pardon to the men of Bandon, many of them were indicted at the assizes, and *capias* issued against them; that Mac Carthy had gone with him to Dublin, and a French governor left in Cork."

The most circumstantial account of the siege of Cork is by the hand of the same writer. This clergyman was at the battle of the Boyne, and near the Prince of Orange when he was hit on the shoulder.

* *Dean Davies.* Rowland Davies was appointed Dean of Cork in 1710. The "Journal of the Very Reverend Rowland Davies" has been ably edited and annotated, for the Camden Society, by Richard Canfield, Esq., B.A., of Cork.

"30th. [June.] At two in the morning we decamped again, and marched towards Drogheda, where we found King James encamped on the other side of the Boyne. We drew up all our horse in a line opposite to him, within cannon shot; and as his majesty passed our line, they fired six shot at him, one whereof, fell and struck off the top of the Duke of Wurtemberg's pistol, and the whiskers off his horse, and another tore the king's coat on the shoulder.* We stood open during at least twenty shot, until a man and two horses being killed among the Dutch guards, we all retired into a trench behind us, where we lay safe while much mischief was done to other regiments, and in the evening drew off and encamped behind the hill."

"July 1st. His majesty came up and charged at the head of the Enniskilling horse, who deserted him at the first charge, and carried with them a Dutch regiment, but the king's blue troops of guards soon supplied the place, and with them he charged in person and routed the enemy."

We shall give a few extracts from the journal of this Cork dean, descriptive of William's march from Dublin southwards.

"July 12. We marched from Johnstown to Timolin; and his majesty, with the foot, to Kilcullen bridge. On the road our men were very rapacious, and, notwithstanding the king's proclamation to the contrary, they robbed and pillaged all the road along, and that

* *Tore the king's coat on the shoulder.*—The buff coat, worn by William, is in the possession of Mr. Robert Thompson, of Ravensdale. It is perforated in the shoulder. The size of the coat shows that William was a man of small stature. See *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, 1856, p. 91, note.

even in the king's and general's presence ; whereupon strict orders were given to seize offenders, and several were taken and executed at Kilcullen, and among them a quarter-master and a wagh-master of the Dutch dragoons.

"July 13. Being Sunday, our whole army halted, and by yesterday's pillage were full of beef and mutton. I preached in the field against swearing, on James v., 17, and while I was in the sermon, seven prisoners were led along our line in order to their execution, and among them one of our regiment : whereupon our major took horse immediately, and went to the general to get him off, which he did, the rest threw dice to save their lives, and three of them were executed.

"14th. We marched to Carlow and baited on our way at Hungerlins Bush. As we passed, two of the Enniskilling dragoons, hung by the way-side,* with papers on their breasts exposing their crime."

On the 18th, they take "a considerable herd of cattle" and lie down to sleep, when a hundred of King James's horse ride up, retake the prey, and kill twelve of the Williamite soldiers.

"19th. We continued still in our camp, in expectation of the foot coming up, in order to attack Waterford, which the enemy maintain. No action happened, except a prey or two taken and brought in. This day the king dined at Kilkenny, with the Duke of Ormond and all the court.

"21st. I went to Clonmel, to visit Mr. Thomas

* *Hung by the way-side.* Pike, the Cork Quaker, writes—"In the third month, 1690, several Friends of Cork went to the half-year's meeting in Dublin, notwithstanding it was dangerous to travel, by reason of the armies marching to and fro, and the plundering rapparees,"—*Life of Joseph Pike*, p. 48.

Moore, with whom I dined and spent most part of the day. But in the evening, when I intended to mount my horse, my pistols and shoes were stolen, I suppose by some Danes [Danish troops] quartered there.

"27th. In the morning early the king left Carrick and marched towards Dublin.

"15th [September]. I went to Cashel to inquire after news. Being told that Marlborough was landed, and Scravenmore gone to Cork with fifteen hundred horse to join him, I waited on my Lord Ginkell, and he told me that Scravenmore only went to see Mallow and the Blackwater; but his adjutant, Golstein, assured me that he had more business. I waited on the general's secretary also, with Dick Bonworth, to get a pass for him and his brother to go to England, and in the evening came back.

"19th. I sent to Cashel, to Dr. Burgh, to inquire for news, and especially of the proceedings of Scravenmore in the county of Cork. He sent me word that Scravenmore had lately routed a great body of the enemy near Mallow, and that having broken down that bridge, he was marched to Castletownroche. Whereupon my brother, Aldworth, and I resolved to go to him, and to quarter at Ballyhooley until the Lord Marlborough should arrive, or the Lord Scravenmore return.

"22nd.—This day we received an account that the Earl of Marlborough was arrived, and had sent an express with an account of it to Cashel to Ginkell."

Marlborough's fleet sailed into Cork harbour on the 22nd, after taking a small battery of eight guns at its mouth. He took possession of Haulbowline island,

which had been deserted, and the next day, September the 23rd, landed his troops in Cork. The force consisted of eight regiments, belonging to Marlborough, Trelawny, Churchill—Marlborough's brother—Beaumont, Hales, Hastings, Collier, and Fitzpatrick, besides six companies of the Earl of Pembroke's marines, under the command of the Duke of Grafton, and three hundred foot of the Earl of Monmouth's regiment, under the command of Major Johnson.

The Duke of Wurtemberg did not arrive in Cork, as we shall see by the Journal, till the 26th, after the two new forts and Shandon Castle were in the hands of the English. The duke had an army of 4,000 foot, besides 1,200 horse, under the command of Lieutenant-General Scravenmore. It was at this time, as we learn from Tindal, in his continuation to Rapin, that the Duke of Wurtemberg paraded his claims as generalissimo, which the Earl of Marlborough * parried with his usual tact and temper. His highness of Wurtemberg contended that, as the general of an army which had lately besieged Limerick, and as the prince of a sovereign house, the precedence was his. Marlborough stood on his rights as an English general, who had received his commission from his prince and his parliament. The German grew restive and rude, the Englishman resolved and resolute. A Huguenot officer proposed a compromise—let them assume precedence on alternate days. The proposal met the views without compromising the dignity of either of these great men. The first morning Marlborough

* *The Earl of Marlborough.*—John Churchill, Earl of Marlborough was not created duke till December 14th, 1702.

commanded, he gave the word "*Wurtemberg*." This compliment won the German's heart, who, the next day, went to the charge with "*A Marlborough*."

"24th.—In the morning I marched to Cork, and acquainted Scravenmore—whom I found encamped the night before on the hill above Waters' mills, about half a mile from the city—of the resolution taken for the Duke of Wurtemburgh to join him, and that accordingly he was on his march from Cahir towards him. He showed me a letter from a correspondent, that the Duke of Berwick,* with a great body of horse, was marched from Limerick towards Newmarket, with a design to get to him all the forces of Muskerry and county of Kerry, and therewith to raise the siege of Cork, and thereon gave me orders to return next morning to the duke and acquaint him therewith, and desire him to hasten up to Cork lest the enemy should come down before him and disturb our lodgment.

"In the afternoon, Scravenmore's adjutant, Reks, returned from the Cove, with orders from the Duke of Marlborough to send a party of horse over the water to cover his foot toward Cork.

"About three in the afternoon, Major-General Tettau having drawn some cannon to Fair Hill, resolved to make a descent, and to attack one or both the new forts near Shandon Castle; † but no sooner were his

* *The Duke of Berwick*, son to James II., by Arabella Churchill, the Earl of Marlborough's sister, was not more than twenty years of age at this time. He afterwards became a Marshal of France. He was a great favorite with the king, his father. He married General Sarsfield's widow. He was killed by a cannon ball at the Siege of Philipsburgh, in Germany, June 12th, 1734.

† "*Shandon Castle*, on the north side, occupied a considerable eminence over the city. Lower down the hill are the remains of a thick wall, which perhaps may have constituted one of the new forts."—*Dean Davies' Journal*, edited by Mr. Caulfield, p. 150.

men posted in order to that design, but the enemy set fire to the suburbs between him and them, and, having deserted both the forts and castle, retired in haste to the city.

“In the evening I conducted a body of horse over the river, at a ford under the church of Curry-Kippane,* and leaving Dick Travers to guide them by the bridge of Carrigrohan to the Lough of Cork,† I returned to Scravenmore, by the way having heard the Earl of Marlborough’s drums on their march. When we passed the river, the enemy in the city beat their drums and gave huzzas, concluding that the Duke of Berwick was advanced hither to relieve them, and to engage the Earl of Marlborough before our horse came up, but they soon found themselves mistaken.

“25th. I went early, and met the Duke of Wurtemberg at Fermoy, where he had just got his cannon over the bridge, resolving to encamp that night at Rathcor-mac. I delivered my message, and having received his answer, that he would be up with us the next night without fail, I returned immediately back to Cork. When I came to the camp, I found that Scravenmore was gone over to wait on the Earl of Marlborough, and therefore went over the river also, but not daring in the night to go to the camp, where I was a stranger (though I saw it from the hill) I went and quartered at Carrigrohan.

* *Curry Kippane*. “The ruins of this ancient church, with its venerable cemetery, still remain. They are situated on very high ground, on the north side of the river Lee.”—*Dean Davies’ Journal*, p. 150.

† *Lough of Cork*, which covers an area of about twelve acres, lies on the high ground to the south of the city, on the old road to Kinsale. A portion of the ground around it is called in the Ordnance maps, *Croakia More*, or the great crows, or gallows. It lies contiguous to Gallows Green.

"26th. I went to the camp early, and missing Scravenmore, I delivered my message myself to the Earl of Marlborough, after which I went home, and in the afternoon shewed a new way from one camp to the other, by my house at Gillabbey. In the evening the Duke of Wurtemberg came to the camp on the north side of the city, we being also in possession of Shandon Castle; whence our cannon played both into the forts and the city; and Scravenmore, bringing over all his horse to join us, took up his quarters at Gillabbey.

"27th. The enemy having deserted their works at the Cat, without a blow struck, we became masters of it, and began to cast bombs into the city."

Sir Richard Cox is surprised that the governor of Cork should have deserted the Cat Fort, which became the easy prey of two sailors. "Most parts of the walls and streets of the city were exposed to the musket shot from this fort; yet so important a post was deserted, without a stroke, for the two seamen found it abandoned and took possession of it, which is a thing almost incredible, that either the enemy should leave it so tamely, or that two men should have the confidence to attempt it, and to boast (as they did beforehand) that they would take it: for though they perceived no shot from thence, yet at that juncture they could not in reason imagine but that it was well provided both with men and ammunition."

O'Brien, in his Irish Dictionary, defines "*Catt*, a fight or pitched battle; also, an Irish battalion or regiment consisting of three thousand men." *Caterva*, in Latin, consisted of a band of six hundred men. The

fort may have been so named from the large number of soldiers it was able to accommodate.

Cat Fort stood on the high ground to the south of the city. The site—at the top of Cat Lane—is now occupied by a barrack for a sergeant's guard, but there is not a vestige of the old fort standing. Some think the name is derived from a warlike machine for undermining walls. The following is from Du Cange:—
"Vineas machinas bellicas quibus itur ad murum suffodiendum, quas Bononienses vocant cattos. Catti ergo sunt vineæ sive plutei. Sub quibus miles in morem felis, quem Cattum vulgo dicimus, in subsidiis aut insidiis latet."

A machine of the kind, described by Du Cange, was called in Ireland a *sow*. In shape it somewhat resembled the animal whose name it bore. Like the wooden *horse*, used by the Greeks at the siege of Troy, it was filled with armed men, who—if I mistake not—are called its "little pigs," in the *Pacata Hibernia*. Some of these sows bore to the walls, which were to be undermined, a brood of fifty pigs, who were not long rooting holes in the foundation.

Having got possession of the Cat, "we began," continues this warlike divine, "to cast bombs into the city, and to play with our cannon against the fort,* from thence and the Friar's Garden, and another battery above the fort, near the Mitre.† This morning I gave Scravenmore an account of the usefulness of the

* *The fort*, i.e. the Elizabeth fort in Barrack Street. This fort, which Lord Macauley says "lies in ruins," is in good preservation to the present day, and occupied by her majesty's forces. Some of the walls are of great thickness.

† *The Mitre* was probably a tavern. It is also mentioned in Dive Downe's Journal, who wrote in A.D. 1700.

steeple* of the cathedral, that if boards were laid on the beams thereof, our men might gall the enemy in the fort from that place with their muskets; whereupon Lieutenant Townsend was sent with men thither, and accordingly did very good execution."

From this elevated position they shot the governor of Elizabeth fort. To remove this party the Irish used cannon, which shook the steeple to its foundation. Townsend's men were terrified, and about to descend, when their leader gave directions to those below to remove the ladder, and remained in this dangerous post till the next day, when the fort surrendered.

The Dean continues his journal: "I also took care to have the course of Droope's mill-stream turned, which ran through the north of the city, and drove a grist mill there. In the morning our heavy cannon were landed near the Red Cow, by Red Abbey, and there a battery was raised of thirty-six pounders, which playing against the city wall, soon made it tumble; whereon the enemy let the bishop† come out to us, whom they made prisoner in the city, with all the clergy, and about one thousand three hundred of the Protestants; and towards evening they beat a parley, and came to a treaty, whereon a truce was granted until the next morning.

"28th.—The enemy not accepting of the conditions offered, our cannon and bombs began to play most

* *The steeple.*—Mr. Caulfield thinks the round tower which stood in the church-yard of St. Finn Barr's, may be here meant by the steeple. In the map of Cork in the *Pacata Hibernia*, the "Steeple of y^e Cathedral Church," is represented as a square tower with battlements.

† *The bishop* was Doctor Edward Wetenhall. He was a native of Lichfield. He was appointed to the sees of Cork and Ross in 1678, which he held until 1699, when he was succeeded by Dive Downes.

fiercely, in so much that a breach in the city began to appear plainly, and when the enemy appeared on the wall near it, they were raked off by our small ordnance from the Cat. Last night a captain, lieutenant, and forty men were posted in the brick-yard, near Gill Abbey, to hinder the enemy from making their escape that way through the Marsh, and accordingly, some attempting it about midnight, Captain Swiney and four more were killed, and Captain M'Carthy taken, being desperately wounded, and the rest forced into the city again. About one of the clock, the tide being out, the Danes from the north, and the English from the south, passed the river into the East Marsh, in order to storm the breach that was made in the city wall, and immediately the van posted themselves under the bank of the Marsh, which seems to be a counter-scarp to the city wall, in which approach the noble Duke of Grafton* received a mortal wound in the point of his shoulder. The Salamander, also, and another vessel, which came up the morning tide, lay at the Marsh end, directly before the wall, and played their cannon at the breach, and shot bombs into the city, in the midst, whereof, the Earl of Tyrone and Lieutenant-Colonel Rycaut came out and made articles for a surrender—the fort to be ours in an hour and the city next morning, all in arms to be prisoners of war. In the evening the fort was received by us, and the Protestants were set at liberty, and all was full of joy.

* *Henry Fitz-Roy, Duke of Grafton*, was an illegitimate son of Charles II. and the Duchess of Cleveland. Collins says, he received a shot which broke two of his ribs. Mr. Edwards says, the shot was fired by a blacksmith, from a forge in Post Office Lane. The place where he was mortally wounded is called Grafton's Alley to this day. He died in Cork the 9th of October. His body was brought to England and buried at Euston, Suffolk.

The governor, Mac Gillicuddy, had but two small barrels of powder left. He was blamed by his own party for not evacuating a city—which was in no condition to sustain a siege—and returning to Kerry, when he had an opportunity ; but such things are always said after a defeat. But he was more blamed by the citizens for firing the suburbs, after being paid to spare them ; “Whereby,” says Sir Richard Cox, “one of the most thriving cities, for bigness, in Europe, was, in a great part, laid in ashes, and hundreds of Protestants, who before lived plentifully, were, by this barbarous breach of faith, reduced to beggary.” The affair is thus described by Joseph Pike, the Quaker :—

“In the seventh month, 1690, Cork was besieged by the English. The Lord Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, commanded the siege, Mac Gillicuddy being then the Irish governor of the city. He was a rude, boisterous, man, and gave out that he intended to burn the suburbs ; upon which the inhabitants, English and Irish, treated with him to save them, and agreed to give him five hundred pounds in silver, most of which was gathered and paid to him ; yet I could not trust his word, and removed the best of my goods, and thereby saved them. Notwithstanding which, he afterwards, without giving the least notice, burned both the north and south suburbs, whereby not only the houses but much goods were destroyed. The town was delivered up in a few days ; and about four thousand, with the governor, taken prisoners, some of whom were put into our meeting-house, so that Friends had to me in another place.”

Again he writes, “When the town was delivered up,

the prisoners, computed at about 4000, were put into the places of worship, so that Friends met in a back place, belonging to Thomas Wright's house; and the weather being wet, the English soldiers as well as Irish prisoners, grew very sickly, and great numbers died, so that they buried them in a large hole or pit, almost every day. The citizens were also infected, and very many died, and the city became like an hospital, in a dismal condition, for a long time. At length many of the prisoners ran away, and others that remained were let go, but the governor and chiefs were sent to the Tower of London."—*Pike's Life*, p. 53.

We conclude from the following that the Quakers were held as "*Friends*" by the Irish, and had the city been taken by storm, would have perished with them. "The Protestants were shut up in prisons * and houses, with guards over them, but Friends were at liberty, *the Irish believing there was no danger from us*, so that if the town had been taken by storm, as it was on the point of being, humanly speaking, we should have been slain with the Irish."

Although there was no massacre of the Irish, there was plunder, the inevitable consequence of taking a city like Cork. "In the morning," continues Dean Davies, "many seamen, and other loose persons, entered the city through the breach, and other places, and plundered many houses, especially of property."

"As soon as the bridge could be mended the Earl of Marlborough and Scravenmore entered, and took much

* *Shut up in prisons.* They had been previously disarmed by James' soldiers. "They began in the evening, near night, lining the streets with soldiers, armed with lighted matches. They kept the design private, even from the Irish;" when a friendly native rushes up to the Quaker with a "Lord! Mr. Pike, what are they going to do?"—*Life of Joseph Pike*, p. 50.

pains to preserve the city from further damage. In the afternoon all Papists were ordered, by proclamation, on pain of death, to deliver up their arms, and to repair to the East Marsh, where all that had been in arms were secured, and after put under guard—the officers in the County Court-House, and the rest in the churches and other places.”

The Rev. Charles Leslie, in his answer to King, (p. 162,) says, “ the garrison, after laying down their arms, were stript and marched to a marshy wet ground, where they were kept with guards four or five days, and not being sustained, were forced, through hunger, to eat dead horses;” and when removed from the marsh they were “ crowded into jails, houses, and churches.” We suspect that William’s troops were not much better provided for. Cork was not large enough to feed and lodge two armies along with its own inhabitants.

Seven Irish regiments laid down their arms, namely Mac Gillicuddy’s, Clancarty’s, Tyrone’s, Mac Carthy’s, O’Donovan’s, O’Sullivan’s, and Barrett’s. About 1,000 men, with the principal officers, were sent prisoners to England. About 4,500 of the Irish army,* which had defended Limerick, against Ginkell, embarked at Cork, for France, under Lord Lucan, better known as General Sarsfield. About a hundred and sixty Irish troops were blown up in the Breda man-of-war—which lay in Cork harbour—on the 12th of October, 1691. Captain Tenet, the commander, was taken up alive, but died soon after. There were some who asserted that

* *Irish army.*—There embarked from Munster 19,059 men, besides the General, Justin Mac Carthy, or Mountcashel’s brigade, which consisted of 5,270 men.

this was "done by Colonel Barrett on purpose," but there is no proof whatever, except that he and his servant escaped.

We learn from Sir Richard Cox, that the Irish were treated with great harshness after the war. "On the first of May, 1691, I was sent with a commission to govern the counties of Cork and city of Cork. I came there 4th of May, and had with me a commission of Oyer and Terminer and gaol delivery. I soon raised and arrayed eight regiments of dragoons and three of foot, which were under my command all that summer; they did great service, and did much execution upon the Irish, and took from them so much prey (to the value of £10,000) as set many of them up after the war. I took no share of it myself, though I might have had the tenth, but in everything I acted the part of a true Englishman, whose heart was in the cause, and in requital, had a very hearty address of thanks from both counties, and received from the government £150 by concordatum, and from their majesties an abatement of half my quit-rent for ever." —*Autobiography of Sir Richard Cox*, edited by Richard Caulfield, Esq., B.A.

CHAPTER VII.

MARLBOROUGH AT KINSALE—SIR JAMES COTTER—
SIR RICHARD COX—SIR RICHARD NAGLE.

A.D. 1690—1692.

MARLBOROUGH'S cavalry were on the road to Kinsale a few hours after Cork had fallen. Brigadier Villiers sent a trumpeter to summon the place. The Irish, after threatening to hang him for bringing such a message, fired the town and retreated into the forts.

Marlborough arrived in Kinsale on the 2nd of October. On the 3rd, Major-General Tettau and Colonel Fitzpatrick, crossed in boats, with 300 men, to the peninsula or tongue of land on which the ruins of the Old Fort and Ringrone Castle now stand. They took the fort by storm, the Irish retiring to the castle. Here they lost forty men by the explosion of a barrel of gunpowder, but refused to surrender till their governor, Colonel O'Driscoll, and two hundred of the garrison, had been slain.

The New, or Charles Fort, was then summoned. The governor, Sir Edward Scot, said it was time enough, a month hence, to talk of surrender. The trenches were opened on the 5th of October, and batteries erected, on the east by the Danes, and on the north by the

English ; a mine was also sprung, and everything ready for the assault, when the governor sent Colonel O'Donovan with the keys. He capitulated on the most honorable terms, namely, that his men, 1,200 strong, should march out with their arms, bag and baggage, and fall back upon their main force at Limerick. They were beholden, in some respect for this good treatment, to the bad weather, and the short commons in the English camp. Colonel Churchill, speaking of the want of everything among his troops, says, "They are *fit* to conquer, for they *must* do that or starve, which they were very nigh doing." He could draw out "five hundred men, and not a hundred pair of shoes among them, which are not to be got for money, if he had it."

The Irish left a thousand barrels of wheat and eighty pipes of claret behind them. These were a great boon to men who had been living on brown bread and sour wine. About a month after this a French ship, laden with wine, sailed into Kinsale, and anchored under the Old Fort, believing the town to be in the hands of James' troops, nor did the captain discover his mistake till his vessel was boarded by Marlborough's men. The earl left his brother, Colonel Churchill, as governor of Charles Fort, and returned to Cork, from which he sailed with his fleet to Portsmouth.

It was during the October or November of this famous year, 1690, that the Irish, with 1,000 horse and five regiments of foot, under the command of the young Duke of Berwick, marched from Limerick to Macroom, but hearing of Ginkell's approach from

Cashel, returned on their steps towards Limerick. They halted at Charleville, and fired Charleville House, after the duke had dined there, thus fulfilling the prophecy, or malediction, pronounced upon this house of the Earl of Orrery, by John Exham, the mad Quaker. Indeed this army plundered and fired most of the houses north of the Blackwater.

Five hundred men, under young Colonel O'Driscoll, attempted to fire Castle-Townsend, the residence of Colonel Townsend, in West Carbery. They were stoutly resisted by the colonel and a garrison of thirty-five men. Twelve of the Irish dropped at the first volley. On a second attack, O'Driscoll, Captain Teig O'Donovan, Captain Cronin, and about thirty of their men, were slain, and a great number wounded, "so they were forced to retire with loss and shame."

Castle-Townsend was attacked a second time, this year, in December, by Mac Fineen, who escaped from Cork jail. The place was defended on this occasion by a lieutenant and thirty dragoons. Their ammunition being spent, and five of their number slain, they surrendered on quarter; notwithstanding, says Doctor Smith, "the Irish slew the lieutenant."

Fermoy was attacked in the January of 1691, by Brigadier Carroll at the head of 1500 Irish, but the attack was repulsed by William's Danish auxiliaries and some Irish militia—fifty horse—under the command of Colonel Donep.

There was a good deal of skirmishing on both sides in the early part of the year 1691, about Bandon, Clonakilty, Rosscarberry, and other places; and a number of the Irish, who were styled "Tories" and

"Rapparees,"* out down, or captured and hanged. One of the smartest engagements of the season is styled the Battle of Bottlehill, which occurred on the first of April. About 100 men of the Cork garrison, under the command of Captain Thornicroft, were on their return from Ballyhooly. They were met at Six-mile-Water by Sir James Cotter and Major Slingsby, at the head of 300 men. The English had just time to get into an old pound, that had a ditch breast high, which gave them a considerable advantage. The fight lasted for three hours, when Sir James was compelled to draw off his men, with the loss of sixty killed, and as many wounded. Captain Coppinger was slain on the field, and Major Slingsby carried prisoner to Cork where he died of his wounds.

The dethroned king had no more faithful or honorable follower than Sir James Cotter,† of Ballinsperrig. He was acting under orders in passing through the county at the head of these armed bands. The following are copies of original documents, signed by Tyrconnell, Sir Richard Nagle, and Sir Richard Cox—placed at my disposal by the Rev. George Cotter, of Rockforest, Mallow, a lineal descendant of this Sir James Cotter. The first is an order to "Levy £200 on the county of Corke." It is given at Limerick,

* *Tories and Rapparees.* "Forty pounds to be raised and levied of the goods and chattels of Charles Carthy and Donogh Mac Carthy. £20 of it to be paid to Frances Parker, widow of Will. Parker, who killed Callaghan McCallaghan, a proclaimed Tory, and lost his life in the service; the other £20 to be paid to — Newel for bringing in a Tory. These Tories were the followers of Charles and Donagh Macarthy."—*From the Cork Grand Jury Book for 1702.*

† *Sir James Cotter*, originally Ottir, or Mac Ottir. They were originally Danes, and settled in Insi Gall, or the Hebrides, in the middle of the twelfth century, when one of them came to Ireland and assumed the government of Dublin, or Ath-Claith.

the 24th day of July, 1691. "Tyrconnell," and "Ri Nagle, K's" signatures, are original autographs :—

" ORDER.

" To impower Sr. James Cotter to levy £200 from all the lands of ye County of Corke.

" By his Grace, Richard, Duke of Tyrconnell, Lord Lieut. and Gen'l Govern'r of Ireland.

" TYRCONNELL,

" Whereas Sr. James Cotter, Knt., has been hitherto at great charges and expence in procuring and getting intelligence of the designes, carriage, and indeavours of the enemy against his ma'tes army and liege people, by which means they were often prevented, and for the enabling him, the said Sir James Cotter, to carry on that good service, and to continue his said correspondence by encouraging and gratifieing the p'son giving the said intelligence, wee doe hereby impower and authorize him, the said Sir James Cotter, to raise, collect, and receive, by such meanes as he shall think fitt, the summe of two hundred pounds ster. out of all the lands within the countie of Cork ; hereby willing and requiring the commissioners and sub-commissioners, of the respective baronies within the said countie, to be aiding and assisting unto such p'son or p'sons as shall be appointed or named by the said Sir James Cotter in the collection thereof, for which this shall be to him and them a sufficient warr't. Given at Limerick, the 24th day of July, 1691, and in the seventh year of his maj^{ty} reigne.

" By his grace's command,

" RI. NAGLE, K."

The next paper is also dated from Limerick, August, 1691, and is an order to seize six hundred pair of brogues or pumps.* The soldiers of both kings were

* *Brogues or pumps*.—There are two kinds of brogue, the single and the double. The former has sole and upper only, the latter has a *welt*. The former is more properly the brogue, the latter a shoe. The brogue in Irish is called *brag galoig*, and the shoe *brag gallda*, to distinguish between the English and Irish article. The brogue-makers pride themselves on the antiquity of their trade, and feel disposed to snub the mere shoemaker, as a cobbling and imperfect copyist of their more noble art. The *thing* now called a brogue is nothing more than a shoe; the only difference is in the material; that made of coarse leather is a brogue, and that of fine leather a shoe.

sadly down at the heels and out at the toes. Wooden shoes and brass money, had previously been the order of the day :—

“ ORDER.

“ To Sr. James Cotter, to seize 600 paire of shooes, in the hands of Cap’n Cornelius Mc Gillycuddy.

“ By his Grace, Richard, Duke of Tyreconnell, Lord Lieut. Gen’ll and Gen’ll Govern’r of Ireland.

“ TYRECONNELL,

“ You are forthwith to seize six hundred paire of brogues, or pumps, now in the hands of Capt’n Cornelius Mc Gillycuddy, which were lodged there by Collonell Denis Mc Gillycuddy, for the use of the regim’t now belonging to Collonell Charles Morphy, whereof you are to deliver three hundred paire to Coll. Morphy, for the use of the said regiment, and the remainder you are to distribute in the garrison of Rosse, and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at Limerick, the day of August, 1691.

“ By his grace’s command,

“ RI. NAGLE, K.

“ To Sr. James Cotter, Knt.,
Brigadeere of his ma’tes
armie.”

The following correspondence does equal honor to the head and heart of Sir James Cotter and his friend Sir Richard Cox.

“ *Cork, July 6th, 1601.*

“ SIR,

“ Upon the score of our former acquaintance, and the civility which you have used to our friends whilst you were governor here, and since, I think myself obliged to let you know, that I have both station and inclination to serve you. If it should happen that you throw yourself upon me, without capitulation, (for your party is certainly ruined, and will every minute decay,) you shall, undoubtedly, be used as a man of honor; but, if you are of this opinion, bring off as many as you can, and their arms, because your terms

will be so much the better. This will seem odd if you don't apprehend the case desperate, but because I am sure 'tis so, therefore you have this friendly advertisement from,

" Sir,

" Your very affec. friend and servant,

" RICHARD COX.

" For the Hon. Sir James Cotter, those."

Sir James Cotter makes the following honorable reply, which contains a beautiful stroke of wit.

" SIR,

" Notwithstanding our former acquaintance, it seems you do not know me. Whatever I might have done with sitting still, when laid aside, in civilities—which, for justice sake, I distributed without distinction—I am now convinced, and will, I doubt not, be in a condition to return your kindness, for really your case is so desperate that you will soon have an occasion for it, and be confident in anything that is just.

" You find me, Sir,

" Your very affec. friend and servant,

" JAMES COTTER.

" Give, I pray you, my services to all old acquaintances."

But poor Sir James was obliged in the end to sue for protection, which was freely granted. The original order signed Bar. de Ginkell,* given at the camp before Limerick, the 9th of October, 1691, is a "protection for himself, his family, servants and tenants, and his and their houses, household stuff, stock, blacke cattle, horses, sheepe, corne and goods." It also contains a "lycence for him and his servants to keep three cases of pistolls, three fuses and three swords, for their protection." The following is a copy of the protection :—

* *Bar. de Ginkell*, Earl of Athlone and Baron Aughrim. William Gustauf Frederick de-Reede-de-Ginkle, 10th and last Earl of Athlone, county Roscommon, Viscount Aghrim, died at the Hague, May 21st., 1844, when his English, or rather Irish, titles became extinct.



"By his Excel. Lt.-Genll. Ginckel,

Commander in Chiefe of their Ma'tes forces in Ireland.

"Whereas, Sir James Cotter of Ballynsperrig, al's Cotter's Lodg, in the county of Corke, Knt., is by the late capitulation with the Irish armie, entitled to his reall and p'sonall estate. And whereas he made suite to us for our protection* for himselfe, his family, servants and tenants, and his and their houses, household stuff, stock, blacke cattle, horses, sheepe, corne and goods, and also one lycence for him and his serv'ts to keep, carry, and make use of for the defences of his person, house and goods, three cases of pistolls, three fusees, and three swords. We doe hereby take the said Sir James Cotter, with his family, servants, stock, tenants, and his and their reall and personall estates into their mates' protection. And do hereby strictly charge and require all officers and others of their mates' subjects to suffer and permit him, with his servants, horses and armes, to travell about his lawful occations into any parte of this kingdome. And we doe hereby lycence him, and his servants, to use, carry, and keepe the said armes; and all persons are hereby required not to molest him, or his servants, in the quiet enjoyment of his, the said Sir James Cotter's, reall or p'sonall estate, att their p'r'll. Given att the Camp before Limerick, this 9th of 8ber.

"BAR. DE GINCKELL."

The following certificate is copied from the original document:—

"Wee, the undernamed of the City of Corke, doe declare that during Sir James Cotter's beeing Governor of the said City† and County, the Protestants thereof, as much as in him lay, did receive all manner of countenance and favor from him, and that instead of being confined and imprisoned upon all allarms, as wee were by his predecessors and successors in that Government, hee desired all

* *Our protection.*—Protections were at this time given or sold by Irish judges, to the poorer sort of people. "In March, the Lord Chief Justice Reynell and I went judges of assize to Cork and Waterford, and by order of the government we gave printed protections to the Irish, for which we had sixpence a-piece, so that we got 300 li. a-piece that journey."—*Autobiography of Sir Richard Cox, edited by Richard Caulfield, Esquire*, p. 13.

† *Governor of the said City.* Sir James was made "Governor of the City of Cork and the Great Island near it," the 11th of February, 1690.

of us as were by them turned out of the citty and our houses to come into them again ; and that during his Government there should be no such hardship put upon us, which he justly performed ; for which reason, and noe other that wee could either know or hear of, hee hath (to our greate prejudice) beene removed, being by the French faction represented as a man not fitt to be trusted where any Protestants were.—All of which we hold ourselves obliged to certifie, under our hands at Corke, this Ninth day of December, 1691.

“ DANIEL CRONE, Mayor.

“ P. RENEU,
“ SAMUELL LOVE, } viz Concil.

“ WALTER NEALE, Rect. and Vic. of St. Mary Shandon, and Vic.-Gen. of the Dioceses of Corke and Rosse.

“ JOHN CARR, WILLIAM ROBERTS, JOHN GILLMAN, ULICH GREENE, FRA. ROGERS, EDMOND HAMONS.”

“ I must acknowledge that wee received the above mentioned kindnesses from Sir James Cotter, and more than above mentioned, but as to the reasons of his being removed I know nothing.

“ E. CORKE AND ROSSE.”

“ Sir James Cotter did carry himself with much kindness towards the English in the late times, and I believe the other particulars to bee true.

“ F. P. POMEROY, Dean.

“ Edw. Synge, Rect. and Vic. of Christ Ch., Corke.”

“ I doe hereby certify that when I, together with Mr. Will. Southwell and Mr. Symon Griffith, was sent prisoner from off the French fleet in the Harbour of Corke, to Sir James Cotter, Governor of the said Citty, that the said Sir James did use me, and the other two gentlemen, with all the humanity and kindness he was able, notwithstanding our being under sentence for treason against the then Government, and that he ventured to favor us and to be kind to us beyond our hopes and reasonable expectations.—All of which I certifie, under my hand, this 12th day of May, 1692.

“ CHARLES NORTHCOTE, Clergiman.”

The following paper, complaining of the treatment the Protestant citizens received at the hands of the

governor, Magillicuddy, is the very opposite of all this :—

“To His Grace the Duke of Bolton, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.

“The humble petition of the Mayor, Sheriffs, and commonalty of His Majesty's ever loyal City of Cork,

“**SH EWETH,**

“That the said city of Cork is a very ancient city, and a place of considerable trade, and pays a very great revenue to his majesty.

“That in the late king James' time, your petitioners suffered very much for their adherence to the Protestant interests, were put into prison; and their suburbs, which make a considerable part of the city, were set on fire, and burned to the ground, by the then Popish governor, Magillicuddy, and notwithstanding he had before-hand agreed and promised to save the said suburbs, upon the payment of a considerable sum of money to him by your petitioners.

“That your petitioners were relieved from their prisons and their miseries by king William of glorious memory, under the command of your majesty's renowned and victorious general, his grace the Duke of Marlborough, who besieged the said city, and took it in the year 1690.

“That soon after, your petitioners supplied several regiments of king William's army, with several considerable sums of money for their subsistence, for which your petitioners never received any satisfaction, which has been a great loss to your petitioners, who have but a very small and precarious revenue for the support of their corporation.

“That the several governors of this kingdom, since the said siege, upon representations that the walls of the said city were of no strength or defence against an army, were pleased to give liberty to open the same for gates, in several places.

“That the tide ebbs and flows around the said city, and the said walls, as they now stand, are of no defence, but a charge to your petitioners, and that the ground next, without the said

walls, as well as the ground on which the said walls stand, belong to your petitioners.

“ May it please your grace, in consideration of the premises to grant your petitioners the said walls,

“ And your petitioners will ever pray.”

ABRA. FRENCH,
Mayor.

WM. HAWKINS, } Shers.
CHAS. COTTRELL. }

DANIEL CRONE.

WM. MASTERS.

JOS. FRANCKLYN.

DANIEL PERDRIAU.

R. KNAPP.

SAM. WILSON.

RICHARD PHILLIPS.

JNO. WHITING.

EDWARD HOARE.

ROW. DELAHOIDE.

EDWARD BROWNE.

PHILIPS FRENCH.

WM. LAMBLEY.

The following are the names of adherents of James II., in this county, whose estates were forfeited. The list does not contain the name of the Earl of Clancarty who lost immense possessions :—

Barrett, Colonel John—about 12000 acres, barony of Barretts, £1330 17 9, set at £1112.

Barry, Edward—barony of Barrymore, £258 12 6.

Barry, John Barry, of Derryloone—barony of Ibane and Barryroe, £50.

Browne, Nicholas—barony of Imokilly and Youghal, £125, set at £99 5.

Coppinger, Walter—South liberties, £60, set at £56.

Coppinger, Thomas—North Suburbs of Cork and Barrymore, £74 6.

Coppinger, Thomas—South Liberties, £112, set at £50.

Coppinger, Thomas, for life—City of Cork, £38, set at £25.

Driscoll, Cornelius—barony of West Carbery, £35, set at £25 ;
and barony of Condons and Clongibbons, £120, set at £100.

Galway, Arthur, or Ignatius Goold—South Liberties, £43 15, set at £24 10.

Galway, Walter—barony of West Carbery, £50.

Galway, Edward—barony of West Carbery, £27, set at £20.

Galway, Edward—barony of Carbery, £502, set at £485 9.

Goold, Ignatius, or Arthur Galway—Cork city, £280 10, set at £288 14.

Goold, Ignatius, or Arthur Galway—South Liberties, £72, set at £67.

Goold, Ignatius—Liberties, £15.

Gould, Ignatius—Equity of redemption of Ballyphilip, sold for £10.

M'Carty, Charles—£635.

M'Carty, Charles, of Ardaclugg—barony of Muskerry, £255, set at £242.

M'Carty, Charles, of Toonadrome—£136, set at £117.

M'Carty Teige of Agliss—£357, set at £317.

Murrough, Andrew, of Ballintyrry—barony of Barrymore, £80.

Murrough, Andrew, of Kilcoolishill—£77.

Nagle, Sir Richard—barony of Fermoy, £34.

Nagle, Pierce—baronies of Fermoy and Duhallow, £502 2 6, set at £412 2 6.

Roache, Maurice—Kinsale, £8.

Sarsfield, Patrick—barony of Barrymore and Cork, £154, set at £124.

Sarsfield, Dominick—barony of Barrymore, £280, set at £269.

Wray, Sir Drury, for life—St. Laurence's Chapel, or three messuages, £10, set at £1.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CITY AND THE CORPORATION.

PREVIOUS to the civil wars, Protestants as well as Catholics* were members of the Corporation, and filled the offices of mayors and sheriffs, and we do not find that they worked inharmoniously together ; but from 1656 to 1829, a period of a hundred and seventy-three years, Roman Catholics were disqualified from filling the meanest office in the council. But we do not find that the exclusion of the Catholic, and his deprivation of all civic privileges, produced those halcyon days of peace which some anticipated. Disputes and wrangling will occur in the best regulated communities ; and when place, power, and pelf, are to be had for the striving, we find those who have been reared in the same nest, turning their halcyon backs against each other. This state of things was of frequent occurrence in the Protestant Corporation of Cork. If we are to believe a writer of the period, this common council was more like a rookery of crows than a nest of young doves. He calls the court "D'Oyer Hundred,"—a court of confusion.

* *Protestants as well as Catholics.* Mr. Tuckey says, "Some Protestants were occasionally admitted, but were mostly statesmen or official persons of distinction." They must therefore have had the greater influence.

These contentions assumed, as early as 1718, a more decided aspect, by the formation of a "Liberal Party" in the Corporation, whose object was to wrest the corporate power, and the management of the funds, from the hands of a few men by whom they were abused. The great and parent abuse, from which all minor abuses sprang, was that which prevailed in the choice of mayor and sheriffs. The officers were from a very early period elected by the guild or "*Society of the Merchants Staple of Cork*," who chose from their own body a mayor and two constables, who were supposed to guard the rights and public property of the body by which they were elected.

We discover from one of the Roche MSS. how civic elections were managed in the time of Henry VIII. "The maior and both the bailivis for the tyme being, accordinge the use and custume of the same, ought and muste choise and electe three goode able men, that is to say, everye of theym one mane, of which three goode able p'sones, the hole comons of Coreke, forsaid shall electe one to be there gouvemor and maior of the same."

A case of bribery, on the part of the mayor, is then put to the Lords Justices and Judges. "So the case is this—one of Coreke, forsaid, came to one of the bailivis, and bargayned, covenanted, and delivered unto hym, certeyn some of money, for the electinge and choisinge of hym to that purpose. And so he did, and was elected and made maior by the hole commons of the same that year, by the meanes of the said bailivis six yere agone. Now, whether the same person so elected and made maior ought to have res-

titution of his money so delivered in man aforesaid or not." The following is the decision of the Court in Dublin :—

" Wherfor we do certifie youe, that the person which did give the money aforesaid to the other, cannot have account for to recover the same money again ; no other recompense, therefore, be the order of the said law, so knoweth our Lord who preserve you.

" Your lovyng frends,

" GERALD AYLMER, Justice.

THOMAS LUTTRELL, Justice.

JAMES BATHE, Baron.

THOMAS CUSAKE.

MR. ROTLOM."

The charter of James I., and the confirmatory charter of Charles I., enacted that the commons, or burgesses, or the greater number of them, should meet in the Guild Hall, or some other convenient place, and continue there until they had elected the mayor and sheriffs.

" And we do by these presents grant unto the said mayor, sheriffs and commons, yearly, and every year, on Monday, after the first feast of Saint Bartholomew, to assemble themselves, or the greater number of them, in the Guild Hall of the said city, or in any other convenient place within the same, and there continue until they, or the greater number of them, elect or name one person of the commons of said city to be and continue mayor of said city for one whole year, to commence from the Monday after the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, thence following." The two sheriffs were elected at the same time, and in the same way. We may imagine the excitement and uproar at one of those courts, when jobbery and corruption were

more barefaced than in these latter days, and when a place in the council was really worth having. Measures were therefore taken to arrange these elections in a more quiet way. A bye-law was passed in 1609, which "enacted, that the office of mayoraltie should be supplied, successively, by the old mayors of the city, in turn." The next year there was another bye-law, enacting, that "none should be mayor but such as should first undergo the office of sheriff; and that every mayor's son and heir shall be elected and chosen sheriff, every one in his degree, and calling, and antiquitie, successively, being of habilitie"—that is, capable of filling the office.

The reason for passing this law, obliging mayors' sons to serve a preliminary apprenticeship as sheriffs, was, that "great enormitie and hinderances had resulted from admitting young gentlemen of tender years, the sons and heirs of mayors, to the office of mayoralitie."

This quiet and hereditary mode of choosing the chief magistrates was substituted for the clamor which prevailed in the Guild Hall; but many thought the cure was worse than the disease, so another mode of election was adopted. There is a picturesque castle on the banks of the Lee—we call it Blackrock Castle. Twelve council-men, with the sheriff, visited this castle once a year, where they *dined*, and nominated three* of the burgesses as candidates. The freemen of D'Oyer Hundred then met, and chose one of the three as mayor for the ensuing year. As two of the three were stalking horses, and unfit to be elected,

* *Nominated three.* By a former bye-law only two were nominated.

through some incapacity, the favorite of the twelve council-men scarcely ever failed.

This was some improvement on the former habit of nominating "young gentlemen of tender years," but it did not satisfy the liberal party in the corporation; they, therefore, met, and at a general assembly of all the members, on the 14th of January, 1721, decreed, with the unanimous consent of all the freemen and commons, that all former customs, usages, bye-laws, ordinances, orders or acts of council, and methods of election, heretofore established for the nomination and election of mayor, sheriffs, or members of common council, be henceforth repealed, destroyed, set aside, annulled, and made void.

"And be it enacted, ordained and established, by the authority aforesaid, that upon all elections to be hereafter made of mayor or sheriffs, to serve for the said city of Cork, the mayor, sheriffs, and commonalty, shall annually assemble at the Guild Hall of the said city of Cork, on the usual day of election, being three calender months before the Monday next after Michaelmas Day; and that then and there, in open court, the mayor, for the time being, shall order the names of all the burgesses (or persons who have served as sheriffs of the said city, and who shall be resident within the said city, and no others,) to be written in several tickets, or small pieces of paper of equal bigness; every ticket, whereof, to contain the name of one such resident burgess, and no more, and then all the said tickets shall be, by the then present mayor, put into a hat, and five of the said tickets, and no more, shall then, immediately, be drawn out of the said hat, in

open court, by a child, to be for that purpose appointed by the mayor, for the time being, and the names of the five persons, written and contained in the said five tickets or pieces of paper, so drawn out of the said hat, shall be openly read by the said mayor, and that the said five persons, whose names shall be written in the said five tickets so drawn out as aforesaid, shall be the persons to stand candidates, and to be put in nomination to be elected to serve as mayor of the said city for the ensuing year; and that as soon as the said nomination shall be made by lots, or balloting, as aforesaid, that then, and immediately afterward, the same day, in open court, every freeman and member of the whole city or body-politic, then present, shall be polled, and his vote taken for one of the said five persons so put in nomination as aforesaid; and that whoever of the said persons shall appear to have a majority of the votes or suffrages of all the freemen then present shall immediately be esteemed, and is hereby declared to be duly elected to serve as mayor of the said city for the ensuing year."

The manner of electing the sheriffs was decided at this meeting on the 14th of January, 1721. "And be it further enacted and ordained, by the authority aforesaid, that as soon as the nomination and election of mayor shall be annually determined, as aforesaid, in open court of D'Oyer Hundred, that then and immediately afterwards, the same day every year hereafter, in open court, the mayor, for the time being, shall nominate one of the freemen or commonalty of the said city, not being an alderman, common-council man, or burgess, to stand candidate, and to be put in

nomination on the election for one of the sheriffs of the said city, to serve for the ensuing year ; and the mayor then newly elected shall nominate a second person, not being an alderman, common-council man, or burgess, out of the said freemen ; and the recorder shall nominate a third person out of the said freemen, as aforesaid ; and the common-speaker a fourth person out of the said freemen or commonalty ; the common-speaker to consult the freemen, and name the person which they desire to be put up ; and that as soon as the said nomination of the said four persons shall be made in manner aforesaid, that then immediately in open court, the same day every freeman or member of the said city or corporation (then present) shall be polled, and his vote taken for two of the said four persons so nominated as aforesaid, and that the two of the said four persons who shall appear to have the majority of the votes or suffrages of all the freemen then present, shall immediately be esteemed and hereby declared to be elected, to serve as sheriffs of the said city for the ensuing year."

There is one proviso to these elections :—" Provided always that the said mayor or sheriffs, or any of them to be hereafter nominated or elected, be duly approved of by the Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor, or Governors and Privy Council of this kingdom."

The following was the bye-law enacted at the same general meeting for the election of a councilman :—

" And be it further enacted, ordained, established and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that upon the death, resignation, or legal removal, of any one or more of the members of common council, or number of

twenty-four, appointed by the said recited charter, to be of the common council of the city of Cork, the mayor for the time being, within twenty-one days next after the death, removal, or resignation of all and every such member or members of the common council, shall proceed to the nomination and election of such common council men, in such manner as herein after is mentioned and appointed, and shall, and is hereby required to give public notice in writing, to be posted up in the most public places and parts of the said city of Cork, of the day of such election to be in the Guild Hall of the said city; and that such notice shall be posted up by the space of eight days next, preceding the day of such election, whereby all the members of the said city, and body politic, may be duly assembled at the Guild Hall of the said city, and the mayor, sheriffs and commonalty being so assembled, shall proceed to the nomination and election of such member or members to be of the said common council, in manner following: that is to say, that the mayor shall, in open court, order the names of all the burgesses resident within the said city of Cork, (not being members of the common council before) to be written in tickets or small pieces of paper, in such manner as herein before is appointed to be done upon the nomination and election of mayor; and that all the said tickets or names to be put into a hat, and five of them to be drawn out by a child, to be for that purpose appointed by the said mayor; and that the tickets or names of the five persons so drawn out of the said hat, shall be, and are hereby declared to be, the persons who shall stand candidates for, and be put in nomination to be elected

for one member of the said common council, to fill up the said number of twenty-four, according to the said charter, and that as soon as the said nomination shall be so made by lot or ballot, as in the case of nominating mayors, then and immediately afterwards the same day in open court, every freeman and member of the said city or body politic, then present, shall be polled, and then, there and every of their votes shall be taken for the election of one of the said five persons, so put in nomination as aforesaid; and that whoever of the said five persons, so nominated by lot as aforesaid, shall appear to have a majority of the votes or suffrages of all the freemen then present, he shall thereupon immediately be esteemed, and is thereby declared to be duly elected to serve as a member of the said common council, of the said city of Cork."

A court of D'Oyer Hundred was convened on the 29th of January, 1721, where a number of bye-laws were enacted, to check jobbery and corruption. Here is one of them:—

"And whereas, the mayors for the city, for some time heretofore, have collected several petty duties from the freemen at large, contrary to their rights and franchises; which duties, and all pretence of right to the levying or taking the same from the freemen from henceforth, to be abolished; by which means the maintenance usually allowed the mayor will be very much lessened. It is enacted, ordained, and agreed, that the present mayor, William Hawkins, Esq., shall have a salary of three hundred and sixty-five pounds sterl. allowed him, for the support and honour of the magistracy for this present year, to be paid quarterly by the

chamberlain of this city, during such time as he shall serve as mayor thereof. And that the salaries of all succeeding mayors shall be fixed the last Monday in June, in open court of D'Oyer Hundred."

This bye-law had not the effect of curing the evil complained of, for we find John Swete, mayor in 1758, committing a number of tradesmen to bridewell for refusing to pay exorbitant quarterage to their masters. The tradesmen brought the matter before the King's Bench, where an attachment was issued to take the mayor into custody. But he got off with a fine of £600, "provided he never again committed the same offence."

The conduct of the common council is next overhauled by this court of D'Oyer Hundred:—

"And whereas, for some time past, the common council did and have assumed a power of taking up money at interest, for the use, or pretended use, of the corporation, without the consent of, or consulting the other freemen and members thereof, whereby the revenues of the city were often loaded with unwarrantable and unnecessary debts. And forasmuch as this is a matter of general concern to all the constituent parts of the whole community, and every member thereof, and ought therefore to have the most public consideration and sanction thereto, for avoiding the like mischief and inconveniencies for the future, and that the city may not hereafter contract any debt, but what shall be judged absolutely proper and necessary, and receive the most public assent thereto. It is enacted, ordained, and established, and from henceforth no money shall be borrowed or taken up at interest,

for the use of the corporation, unless the consent of the mayor, sheriffs, and commonalty, or the major part of them, as aforesaid, be first had in open court of D'Oyer Hundred: and further, that all bonds perfected, or other securities entered into, for any such sum or sums of money so taken up, shall be signed by the then mayor, the sheriffs, (or one of them) and the common speaker for the time being, and the city seal affixed to them. And in case it should so happen that a common speaker, notwithstanding such consent to the commons so first had, should refuse to sign, that the then commons may assign any other person to do it; which signing of him so appointed shall be equally valid, as if done by the common speaker, provided that the same be done openly, in the said court of D'Oyer Hundred."

The next enactment is a very wise one:—

"It is enacted, ordained, and established, that from henceforth no lawsuit shall be commenced, or defence in any one taken, on the part or account of the corporation, unless the same shall be first agreed and consented to by the mayor, sheriffs, and commonalty, or the major part of them, as aforesaid, in open court of D'Oyer Hundred."

We find Dominick Sarsfield, the Catholic mayor in 1689, directing Michael Goold, his attorney, to recover from John Cornish, a butcher, the sum of sixty pounds—the rent of Spittal Lands—for a society of Jesuits then living in Cork. The Spittal Lands are now the property of the Cork Blue-coat School.

It was enacted, on the same occasion, that no public work or building shall be undertaken before an esti-

mate of the charge and plan of the work is laid before the commonalty, and their consent obtained in open court.

It was also enacted, "That every treasurer and chamberlain shall, at least once a-year, bring in his accounts to be audited in a Court of D'Oyer Hundred."

It was also enacted, "That a duplicate book of all the revenues and incomes of the corporation, and of all the money disbursed or issued out for the public service, shall, for the future, be provided and kept for the common council, which book shall be always brought upon the table whenever they assemble, the said book to be prepared and kept by the common speaker for the time being."

It was also enacted, "That no grant, lease, demise, or conveyance whatsoever, shall be made of any lands, tenements or hereditaments, or other the revenues or interests belonging to this corporation, unless there shall be first ten days public notice given, by affixing the same, in writing, on some public place of the New Exchange of this city, after which it shall be put up to cant, and disposed of to the highest bidder, who, being accepted of as a substantial and solvent tenant, shall have a deed or lease thereof perfected to him in open Court of D'Oyer Hundred."

It was further enacted, "That no gift, grant, or donation whatsoever, of any of the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, belonging to the corporation, or of any of the revenues, income, or interests thereof, shall be good or valid to any person whatsoever, unless the same be approved of, and agreed to, in open Court of D'Oyer Hundred."

The mayor and council disposed of, from time to time, a great deal of valuable corporate property. Nicholas Dunscombe, Esq., of King-Williamstown, writes me to say:—

“On the 27th of March, 1686, a lease of the North Strand was made by the corporation to Alderman Noblett Dunscombe, for 399 years, rent £2 10s. A lease of part of the north-east marsh was also made by the corporation to said Alderman Noblett Dunscombe for ever, rent £1 1s. 5½d. A lease of the south-east marsh—the great marsh of Cork—alias Dunscombe’s marsh, was also made by the corporation to said Alderman Noblett Dunscombe for ever, rent £26. After the siege of Cork, 1691, the south-east marsh, alias Dunscombe’s marsh, was surrendered by said Alderman Noblett Dunscombe, being *too dear*. The council accepted the surrender, and granted a new lease for ever, rent £10, and a fine of £100. Said Alderman Noblett Dunscombe also held another marsh, but after the siege of Cork, 1691, surrendered it, and some years after it was leased to Mr. Pike.”

The corporation let, sold, mortgaged, gave, and jobbed away their lands and strands, fisheries, markets, prisage tolls, everything. No young spenthrift heir ever ran through a handsome estate with more recklessness than the old mayors and council-men of Cork. Take the following. It is

“A schedule of lands hereditaments mortgaged by the maior and corporation of Cork to be redeemed:—

“The fishing pooles with Mr. George Gould, John Coppinger, alderman, and Mr. Edmund Morrough, of the said citty, merchant, for the sum of..... 200 li.

"The common land, the two fairs and the market, a pine of wyne of everie shippe or barge under prisadge, 250 li.

"The fees and duties of the market barrel, and the fees and duties of the water bailifs, with Mr. John Coppinger, alderman, and with Maurice Roche, of the said citty, merchant, for the sum of 120 li.

"The prize, [tanen qu?] with Henry Gould Fitz-Peerres, of the said citty, merchant, for the sum of 50 li.

"The cellars or shops under the tollsie, with Edward Roche Fitz-Morris, for the sum of 80 li.

"The market-house which Stephen Miagh holds by lease for the rent of xv. li. per annum, and in mortgage, for the sum of 180 li.

"Item, Upon the college, to Walter Coppinger, 80 li.

"Item, Upon part of the same, to Mr. John Coppinger, 50 li.

"The rent reserved upon a pair of stairs, and a backside, next to the county court, with Maurice Roche, for x. li. or xii.

"Item, Upon the tower which Edmond Pouch holdeth, 15 li.

"That the eighth day of August, 1627, Dominick Roche, alderman, appeared before us in the tollsell, and delivered sufficient discharges of all the mortgages contained in this schedule, according the annexed covenants to that effect. Witness our hands.

WILLIAM HORE, Mayor. JOHN MEADE, Recorder.

JOHN COPPINGER. JOHN GOULD.

JAMES COPPINGER. — TYRREY.

We discover from another of the Roche MSS., dated the 20th of March, 1620, that the city tolls were let to Dominick Roche, Alderman, for the space of twelve years, on condition of his binding himself to bestow £200 on "a strong and sufficient gate-house, in and upon the north gate of the said citty," and "two sufficient stone bridges in the said citty, over the river where the timber bridges now are"—the one at the north and the other at the south gate. He stipulates to do this work within ten years, provided there be no pestilence or plague within the city, or no war arise, whereby the toll or "tax may become of less value."

There were twenty-four guilds, or sub-corporate bodies in connexion with the corporation, who had their own special privileges and franchises. First, the merchants' guild, the date of which I cannot give. The guilds of goldsmiths, saddlers, bridle makers, pewterers, plumbers, tin-men, latten workers, founders, braziers, glaziers, and upholsterers, were incorporated in 1657, the carpenters in 1667, the skinners in 1676, the victuallers in 1688, the masons, 1696, the coopers, 1702, the bakers, 1708, the cordwainers, 1724, the bakers, 1734, the brewers, 1743, and the painters, sawyers, and brogue-makers in 1787.

There was nothing more common in those days than for these guilds to bestow the freedom of the city upon persons who had no title or qualification for such a privilege. This was done by one of the guilds electing the honored individual as a member. The Lord Lieutenant* visits our city, and receives its freedom

* *The Lord Lieutenant*.—January 28th, 1781. "The freedom of the city was presented to the Lord Lieutenant in a gold box, and to his secretary in a silver box." Dec. 30, 1784. The freedom of the city was voted to the Duke of Rutland

in a golden box, as a member of the honorable guild of bakers. A bishop or an archbishop arrives, and receives a like honor from the brewers. An admiral or a great general comes, and there is a contention between the painters, skimmers, tailors, and brogue-makers, for adopting the gallant stranger.

The sheriffs of Cork waited on the Duke of Richmond in Dublin, to whom they presented an address from the corporation, and the freedom of the city in a gold box; and to Sir Arthur Wellesley, who was then chief secretary, the freedom of the city in a silver box. The sheriffs were offered the honor of knighthood,* which they declined.

We know of no more noble institution of our forefathers than that which bestows political and civic privileges as the reward of art and industry in any of the recognised trades; nor one that has been more scandalously perverted from its original purpose, and employed for the oppression of those—tradesmen and mechanics—it was originally established to aid and honor. The honor or privilege of a freeman of any one of these guilds is lowered and degraded by being bestowed upon a *mere gentleman*. A cook received the freedom of Youghal in 1689, on condition that he should dress the mayor's feasts; and a barber, on condition that he should shave the corporation. We may smile, but there was reason in this, there was a quid in a gold box, and to Sir Alexander Schomberg in a silver box. His Royal Highness Prince William Henry, arrived in Cork December 2, 1787, danced with Miss Fitton, Miss Kellet, Lady Haly, Miss Becher, and Mrs. Armstead, and got his freedom in a gold box.

* *The honor of knighthood.*—A story is told of this Duke of Richmond's having knighted an inn-keeper, with whose viands he was delighted. We believe it was Charles II. who knighted the rib of the ox, which is now styled a "*seir-loin*." By whom the "*Baron of beef*" was ennobled we cannot say.

pro quo here ; but to give private and professional gentlemen the franchise of shoemakers or tailors—the Rev. Mr. Gregg, the great controversialist, votes in the Dublin corporation as a member of the guild of tailors—is to rob the tradesman of his rights and civic honors. The proper door of admission is the possession of some honest art or calling. He that enters in any other way should be looked upon as a thief and a robber. But if tradesmen will give away, or sell, or transmit from father to son, those privileges that belong to the honest apprentice, as much as a diploma does to a medical student, they must bear the consequences in the decrease of their civic status. The freeman's franchise has been often sold for five, and on some occasions for one pound. Richard Fitton tried his right to the freedom of the city—as the eldest son of Mr. Burgess Fitton, *then living*—and succeeded.

But Catholics were most conscientiously excluded. No matter what the character or qualifications of a Catholic tradesman, or merchant, the guild door was firmly closed against him. All the privileges of freemen were confined to the Protestants.

There was published, at this time, a sort of political squib, entitled, “The Humble Petition of Patrick O'Connor,” who was seeking the situation of exciseman. He declares, “upon his honor,” that he is “a gentleman of reputation, and an Irish Protestant, who loves his king, and values him at what he is worth, and will fight for him, or *against* him, or any of his relatives or acquaintances.” This must have been a hit at the frequency with which many of the Cork Protestants had changed sides during the civil wars.

The expectant exciseman promises, should he be appointed, "to see all, and everything, or nothing at all, as the case may be, of all such goods and commodities as pay, or should, or should not, pay duty." He also promises that he will not cheat the king more than what is now, and at all times, lawfully practised.

How Catholic merchants and tradesmen could raise their heads and flourish as they did, in the face of such disadvantages, is surprising. A pamphleteer, who signs¹ himself Alexander the Coppersmith, wrote "Remarks on the Religion, Trade, Government, Police, Customs, Manners and Maladies of the City of Cork," in 1737, in which he gives his friends as many home thrusts as his enemies, for Alexander was a perfect Diogenes. He tells the Protestants, that through wealth, pride, envy and insolence, they have lost the trade of the city, which the Catholics have gained by vigilance. A most important branch of trade was the export of beef to our plantations. He says, that now "French gallies come hither, always consigned to a Popish factor,* whose relations and correspondence abroad, and union at home, whose diligence being more, and luxury less, than Protestants, will, at last, swallow up the trade, and suck the marrow of this city, and, like the ivy, will grow to be an oak, and prove absolute in their power over the commerce of those on whom they should be dependent for bread; as a certain baronet observed, about four years ago, how secure do men of that religion live in despite of

* *Popish factor*. By the charter of Charles I. it is enacted, that "no foreign merchant shall, within the city, buy from a foreigner, corn, hides or wool, or any other merchandize, but from the said citizens." We conclude that these words, strictly interpreted, would exclude all who were not freemen, i.e. Protestants, from trading with foreigners. The freemen only were to be the factors.

the law, whilst Protestants look idly on, and by an easiness of temper, peculiar to themselves, suspend the execution of the laws, which never required, not at their first meeting, a more severe execution than at this day.

“By running away with this profitable branch, not only the prejudice they do a Protestant trader, but the benefit arising to Popish dealers and tradesmen is destructive of the Protestant interest of the city. From the mutual kindness of all men under oppression, and a natural hatred of their oppressors, they deal with and always employ one another. If a papist at the gallows wanted an ounce of hemp, he'd skip the Protestant shops, and run to Mark Lane, to buy it; and as the jurisdiction they acknowledge is abroad, they would live independent of the state at home, where they poison all things they touch. They have no regard to posterity; they consider nothing but the present; their schemes are always big with cunning, they want ingenuity, [ingenuousness] the life of business. In all works, regardless of the future, they mar the best undertakings, to make what they can of everything now.”

There is something so extravagant, and at the same time so shrewd, in the remarks of Alexander the Coppersmith, that we feel disposed to rank him as a Catholic in disguise. The very name,* Alexander the Coppersmith, is that of an enemy in the camp. William Boles, one of the True-blue Protestants of those days, says, he can't find the Coppersmith in any of the reli-

* *The very name.*—“Alexander the Coppersmith did me much evil. The Lord reward him according to his works.”—*St. Paul's second Epistle to Timothy, chap. 4, v. 14.*

gious sects of the city. "If it be possible to fix such a vagrant in religion," he thinks it must be "among the Papists." Alexander must surely be sneering when he says, "As the king, lords and commons have agreed upon the first [the Protestant] to be the most laudable mode of christianity, I think every wise man must acknowledge, *that in obedience to an act of parliament*, we should be all of the established church."

In speaking of the great success of Catholics, as the result of active industry in despite of corporate and guild privileges, he takes occasion to pour the most unmeasured contempt upon chartered rights, which had inflicted more permanent injury on those who possessed them, than on those who were denied them. He saw that the petted, pampered, and spoiled child had become the feeblest of the flock. "After the strictest scrutiny I could make into any privilege they can squeeze out of their charter, I really find that they have a right merely to exist, and meet by courtesy in the city court, where, by the power of custom, they may shut their door, talk of their grants, swallow their sack, and do nothing." But they did do something, for he tells us in the same breath, "The original intention of incorporating tradesmen was to discover and prevent frauds in trade, which valuable qualification they have converted into a power to raise money, oppress the workmen, and hunt them out of the city."

Many of our Cork merchants must have been horribly out at the elbows,* if anything like the following

* *Out at the elbows*.—A bye-law was passed in 1612, requiring every councilman who appeared in court, to come in a good and sufficient gown of his own, and

be true, that about a hundred and fifty of them paid the bailiffs so much a-week, to give them time and civil treatment. "With what impudence will some of these fellows approach a merchant, and sneer familiarly in his face upon change; and they get more hats [salutes] in walking the streets, than a mayor out of office. If ever I see an honest man salute a bailiff in the street, I immediately pronounce him his prisoner." "Mark the courtiers," says Lord Bacon, "those who bow first to the citizens are in debt; those who bow first to us [Bacon was a lawyer] are at law."

The landed proprietors or esquires without the city, were no better off than the merchants. Mr. Jeffreys, of Blarney, had a horse that was able to scent a bailiff at any reasonable distance, and bring his master off as safe as Tam O'Shanter. An invaluable animal at such a period, and one that would have brought a high price, if money had not been so scarce.

The condition of Cork prisons in the latter part of the eighteenth century, was not such as to reconcile a debtor to the loss of his personal liberty. It was not till the year 1775 that a second door was opened in the south gaol, to separate the debtors from the criminals. The debtors in the south gaol complained, through the medium of the Cork papers, as late as November, 1782, that they were reduced to the necessity of drinking salt water:—"The debtors in the south gaol were reduced to the necessity of drinking salt water very often for the last three months, their pumps being for a long time dry, and many of them

no borrowed gown, or in default, be censured and amerced or excluded from his degree of councillor until he should buy a gown *de novo*.

in consequence very ill, they humbly besought the managers of the pipe water, through the newspapers of this day, [Nov. 20th, 1782,] to redress that great want."—*Cork Remembrancer*.

The labors of the philanthropist Howard had not as yet told favorably on the sad condition of the prisoner. This celebrated philanthropist visited our city on the 18th of June, 1787. He was preceded by Sir James Fitzpatrick in 1786. "Sir James Fitzpatrick, a gentleman of distinguished philanthropy, arrived in this city, after having made a tour through a great part of this kingdom, for the purpose of visiting the prisons. On the 4th [June] he made a minute inspection of the gaols of this city and county, in which he discovered many deficiencies and very great abuses. On the 5th and 6th he was entertained by the mayor and sheriffs, and on the 7th was waited on, at his lodgings, by the 'Cork Society for the Relief and Discharge of Confined Debtors,' who presented to him, in elegant binding, the printed account of their proceedings from their first institution, with an address, delivered by their secretary, the Rev. Francis Orpen."

But our city and county gaols possessed one property, which made compensation, at least to criminals, for most of their ills, *it was easy to escape from them*. Nothing was more common in those days than "breaking prison."

"Nov. 20th, 1782. One of the criminals, confined in the bridewell, made a hole through the roof, out of which he leaped, and fell on a number of barrels on the head of a barrel carrier, who was accidentally passing along, by which means he escaped.

"Dec. 27th, 1782. The criminals in the north gaol, by the assistance of saws, cut their way through the floor into the room where the keys were kept, which they broke open and got into the upper apartments, and by making a rope fast, five let themselves down into the streets and escaped; among the number was the noted Jack-a-boy, who was apprehended early on the following morning at Blackpool, and conducted back to his old lodgings.

"Sept. 20th, 1785. An attempt was made by the criminals in north gaol to escape. To effect their purpose, they broke several of the inside doors to get to the top of the gaol, and from thence three conveyed themselves down by tying their blankets and sheets together. John Callaghan, otherwise Jaek-a-boy, a most notorious offender, and one Linehan, under sentence of transportation, escaped; but the third was retaken, under a boat on one of the quays.

"Sept. 9th, 1787. Three men, under sentence of transportation, ran out of the city gaol upon the door being opened; two of them were, however, stopped by the sentinel on the bridge, but the other made his escape.

"Sept. 26th, 1787. Three felons in the south gaol, under sentence of transportation, escaped from their dungeon through the sewer, and getting into the river, at low water, waded across to the north side, with barbolts on them. They were afterwards taken.

"Feb. 27th, 1791. A felon, confined in the county gaol, rushed out, when the latch was opened, and ran towards Hanover Street, over Wandesford's Bridge, where the turnkey overtook him; upon this the villain

snapped a pistol twice at him, which, having missed fire, he was immediately apprehended.

"Oct. 11th, 1795. Serjeant Mulhall, of the 105th, and some others, who had been concerned in the late mutiny, escaped from the bridewell of this city previous to their undergoing the punishment they were to have received for the offence. It is said that the free-masons, to which he belonged, were concerned in his escape."

Alexander attributes the distress and insolvency of the merchants in his time, to the bankers, who dug their graves; but if all he says of the profligacy, stark gluttony, duelling,* and expensive funerals of these men, be correct, they were ready for their graves before they got into the bankers' hands. Mr. Caulfield, of Cork, has contributed the copy of an original document to the Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, (vol. i. pp. 75, 76, new series) which gives us a glimpse into the house of one of our city aldermen, Mr. Thomas Ronayne, who flourished in the middle of the seventeenth century, before Cork was in such a bankrupt state.† We shall carry the reader no farther than the parlour and plate closet, premising that the bed-chambers had a fair supply of feather beds and good linen sheeting, and the kitchen a due stock of plates and dishes, kettles, pans, brewing vats, and pots for aquavitæ, of which, as Sir George Carew would

* *Duelling*.—Alexander twits the Cork merchants with quarrelling "on 'change' where cowards are bound over. The man who draws his sword on full 'change' would creep into its empty scabbard from real danger."

† *Before Cork was in such a bankrupt state*.—Dean Swift, who visited Cork in 1706, says, "Cork, indeed, was a place of trade, but, for some years past, it has gone to decay, and the wretched merchants, instead of being dealers, are pedlars and cheats."

say, "no Irish gentleman's house is disfurnished." We commence with three drawing boards, value £4; six stools, covered with Turkey carpet, £1; four plain stools, 6s.; twelve chairs, great and small, £2; two presses—for china we conclude—£1; two round tables, 16s.; one Turkey carpet, £1. The plate closet contains one silver quilted salter; one large and three small silver wine bowls; one silver beer bowl, and a dozen silver spoons. There is also a little jewellery, a gold and a silver chain. The whole household stock is valued at about a hundred pounds. A very moderate sum for an alderman in those days. There was no extravagance here. But this was long before the Copper-smiths' time, and before things had gone to the bad.

Alexander's remark on expensive funerals seems to be borne out by the will of a respectable citizen, named Zachary Travers, who directs that he be "buried without the pomp of aldermen."* Owen Regan was a thirsty soul, and a man of a different mould, for he ordered a piper to play before his corpse, from his house to the grave, and a gallon of ale to be poured on his coffin, which order was duly complied with. A man has been brought to life by pouring a scalding tumbler of punch down his throat, but never by ale. Here we may note that one Francis Taylor, who had been buried in St. Peter's church-yard, on the 19th of April, 1753, was found the next morning "sitting up in his grave, with his hands full of clay." Bodies were laid near the surface in those days, a fortunate circumstance for Francis Taylor, but unfortunate for

* *With pomp of aldermen.* A mayor of Cork asked Bishop Lyon's permission to attend his wife's funeral with sword and mace, and pomp of aldermen; and was refused. The bishop would admit no sword or mace to overtop his mitre.

the health of the citizens generally, and for those in the neighbourhood of St. Peter's church in particular.

Some of the Protestant churches were going to decay in the early part of the eighteenth century, as fast as the Protestant merchants. An act was passed in 1735, by the corporation, "that the cathedral church of St. Fin-Barry, in the city of Cork, was, by length of time, grown so ruinous and decayed, that it was not safe for the inhabitants of said parish to attend divine service therein, and that it had become absolutely necessary to pull down the same in order to have it rebuilt, and that the economy of the dean and chapter belonging to said cathedral, by reason of the smallness of its fund, and that the inhabitants of said parish, by reason of their poverty, were unable to support the whole charge of rebuilding the cathedral."

Another act was passed by the said corporation—"That the parish of Saint Nicholas, in the south suburbs of the city of Cork, was so small, and the bounds thereof so intermeddled with other small contiguous parishes, or parts of the said south liberties, called and described by the name of parishes (and in which no church was or could be built), that no provision could be made for the support of a clergyman to officiate in the church then built, in said parish, nor even to repair said church, and in which, on that account, there had been no divine service for some time, and that said church was in danger of going to ruin. And also reciting that the inhabitants of the parishes, or parts of the south liberties called by these names, viz., St. Bridget's, St. John's of Jerusalem, St. Nicholas's, St. Stephen's, St. Mary's, and St. Domi-

nick's, had there no church to resort to for the public worship of God, for remedy whereof it was enacted, that the Bishop of Cork, with the approbation of the archbishop, and consent of the dean and chapter, and a majority of the inhabitants of the said parishes, might, at a vestry in St. Nicholas's church, unite said parishes to St. Nicholas's parish for ever, provided, however, as the parish of St. Bridget was then the corps of the chancellorship of the cathedral, that the united parish of St. Nicholas should ever thereafter be deemed and construed to be the corps of the chancellorship of same, and that the chancellor of the cathedral should be deemed and become, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, the rector and minister of said united and newly erected parish of St. Nicholas.

The Catholic faith and worship were advancing as fast as the Protestant religion was declining:—

“A.D. 1698. There were in this county 30 regular clergy and 97 seculars, of whom 75 were this year shipped off from Cork, their passage and provisions being paid for by act of parliament.

“A.D. 1703. Sixty-two Roman Catholic priests were registered in the county and city of Cork, of whom fifty-two were in the county and *four in the city*.

“A.D. 1729. The north and south chapels were built.

“A.D. 1732. According to a return made by the hearth-money collectors in this and the following year, there were in the city of Cork 2,569 Protestant and 5,398 Roman Catholic families.”

Alexander, after descanting on the decay of the Protestant and the increase of the Roman Catholic

faith, gives the Protestants of all denominations the following good advice, which we have somewhat condensed. He recommends them to seek the good-will of their flocks, not by crouching, but by walking uprightly; he tells them to visit the sick *in purae*, as well as the sick in body and soul; that they should heal fractures among neighbours, by cordial interpositions; he says that "many preachers are well skilled in the dark Back-shambles of divinity, lose their way in the Main street of religion." "As to the younger dealers in divinity, of whom this city is pretty well stocked, they belie the register-book, out-date their age, set their faces in a frame, and plait their brows into such an affected sadness as makes Christianity look uncomfortable." We forgive the Coppersmith all he has said of the butter-dealers for this good advice.

The Earl of Orrery, writing to Dean Swift in 1736, says, "The butchers are as greasy, the Quakers as formal, and the Presbyterians as holy and full of the Lord, as ever. All things are in statu quo: even the hogs and pigs* grunt in the same cadence as of yore. Unfurnished with variety and drooping under the natural dulness of the place, materials for a letter are as hard to be found as money, sense, honesty, or truth."

On the 14th of May, 1764, nineteen master-barbers were convicted at the quarter-sessions of exercising the functions of their trade on the Lord's day, and ordered to pay a crown fine for each offence. One of

* *Even the hogs and pigs.* The city was at one time so over-run with these animals, that the mayor was obliged to set *pig-traps* to abate the nuisance.

them was found guilty of shaving three persons at a half-penny each, for which he was fined three crowns. He was, however, excused from paying the fines, upon promising not to offend again.

It would appear from the foregoing, that the wrath of the prosecutors—whom we conclude were members of the honorable guild of barbers—was levelled against the half-penny shave. “To shave a gentleman, and powder his five sons’ hair,” cost five shillings a-quarter about a hundred and twenty years ago, but we can draw no conclusion from this, as we are not able to say how often a *gentleman* shaved in the quarter.

The following was a more serious nuisance than that of shaving for a half-penny, but we do not find it suppressed :—

“April 15, 1764.—A great number of fellows were at this time in the habit of assembling in Hammond’s Fields, near Blarney, every Sunday evening, many of them armed with swords, in open contempt of magistracy, where they divided themselves into two parties, in order of battle, and generally maintained a running fight for several hours, in which some of both parties seldom failed getting broken heads ; from thence some of their leaders, after their evening’s diversion, used to remove the scene of action to the city, and continue rioting the remainder of the night. Before the beginning of the previous war—when knocking down, street robberies, and sometimes murders, were so frequent here, that the inhabitants were afraid to stir outside their doors after night-fall—it was in those same fields that the ruffians assembled.”—*Tuckey*, p. 140.

Highway robbery and burglary were of frequent occurrence both in city and county. A tailor named Patrick Redmond was hanged in Gallows Green, on the 10th of September, 1766, for robbing the house of John Griffin. He was cut down, after hanging exactly *nine minutes*. An actor, named Glover, succeeded, by dint of friction and fumigation, in restoring the circulation, and bringing him to life. He rose, got drunk, and went that night to the theatre to return Glover thanks, to the consternation and horror of the whole audience. He was the third tailor that had outlived hanging during ten years.

That very clever thief, Jack-a-boy, gave the authorities great trouble, for he was as agile as a monkey, and had displayed the same ability in getting out of, that he did in getting into prison. He was more than once whipped from the North to the South gate, without curing him of his propensities. A daring robber, named Bill Thunder, was shot down—after various hair-breadth escapes—by a party of gentlemen, near Mallow. These robbers and burglars enjoyed a large portion of the public sympathy. Take the following example:—

“April 18, 1767.—Jeremiah Twomey was executed at Gallows Green for robbing the dwelling-house of Joanna Norton, at Crosses Green. Her husband was so ill-treated the night of the robbery, that he died in some time after. Twomey was convicted of the robbery alone. The general opinion was that he died innocent, in consequence of which the mob brought him from the gallows, in his coffin, to the prosecutor’s door, where they bled him, took the rope off his neck, threw

it in the window, besmeared the door and window-shutters with his blood, whilst showers of stones were pelted at the windows from every quarter. During this time, Mrs. Norton resolutely defended her house, threw the rope into the South river, and fired several shots at the mob. No person was, however, hurt. A party of soldiers soon came to her assistance, some of whom were left as a guard all night at the house.

“On the following day, as the executioner was passing through the Main Street, he was attacked by the populace, who followed him a mile out of town, pelting him with sticks and stones, by which he was desperately wounded; he was brought on a car, by the sheriffs, to the South Infirmary. What more particularly exasperated the mob against him was, his having stripped Twomey’s shoes off, while the body was hanging, claiming them as a perquisite of his reputable profession.”—*Tuckey*, p. 148 & 149.

We had in those days, as well as the present, female thieves and pickpockets. “During the interment of a corpse in St. Fin Barry’s church-yard, a young woman, decently dressed, was detected picking a gentleman’s pocket, which he soon discovered, and on examining her, found no less than seven handkerchiefs upon her, which were restored to the owners. The populace, afterwards, set the culprit in the stocks, where they threw several things at her, till it was thought she received sufficient punishment for such practices.”

The pillory was at this time quite an improved machine. It turned on a swivel, so that the full face of the tortured culprit might present a fair target for the

rotten eggs, dirt and stones of every imp in the rabble ring.

A shoemaker underwent the newly-adopted operation of tarring and feathering, on the 24th of August, 1784.

We are disposed to rank the pillory and tarring and feathering under the head of popular amusements. In the same class we may place cock-fighting and bull-baiting. The former was deemed a sport fit for a gentleman. "March 7th, 1767. A great cock-match between Richard Longfield, of Castle-Mary, in the county of Cork, and Mr. Burton, in the county of Carlow, ended and was won by the latter."


This sport was held in high esteem in England, where "a pious old cock-fighter" ordered that a main should be fought on his coffin lid before he was buried. Throwing at cocks was not in the same repute. "February 4th, 1770. This day, to the disgrace of Christianity and breach of the Lord's day, a number of grown fellows assembled in different parts of the city to partake of the cruel amusement of throwing at cocks, which it was expected would continue till Shrove-tide."

Bull-baiting was also esteemed a plebeian sport. "June 11th, 1770. Some inhuman savages forcibly took a bull in the north suburbs, and after having driven him through the city with dogs, had him baited in the south suburbs for some hours, when the tormented creature ran from their carnage back into the city, which obliged the inhabitants to shut up their shops, and put an end to all business; the bull being unable to proceed further than Broad Lane, was there, and near the Exchange, baited by dogs and

their brother brutes, armed with sticks, for near five hours; and after having frightened four pregnant women into fits, tossed a horse nearly as high as a sign-post, threw a decrepid beggar and a standing of stockings into the kennel, gave up the remains of his tortured life in a narrow lane, much to the disappointment of his savage persecutors, and to the loss of his owner."

A similar practice prevailed in both Dublin and London. Spitalfield weavers, as late, at least, as 1818, were in the constant habit of driving these animals stark mad. I suspect that some of these inhuman sports were imported into Ireland from the other side of St. George's channel.

A curious mode of abating public nuisances was adopted by the mayor in 1786—that of "*an anonymous letter-box*." This was placed near the Exchange. This reminds us of the Lion's Mouth, at St. Mark's, in Venice, through which every cowardly assassin whispered his spite into the ear of the doge and the council of three. But we can make allowance. We conclude that the following note, addressed to the sheriffs in the October of 1772, was a fair specimen of the letters that might be dropped into the anonymous letter box: "Several of the inhabitants, who live near the Exchange, present their respectful compliments to the new sheriffs, to remove a most flagrant nuisance from before their doors, that of a *Breeches Market*, held there every Wednesday and Saturday, to the great annoyance of passengers, and highly indiscreet, as overgrown fellows are frequently fitted with small-clothes in view of the females who pass by."



If we are to believe Sir Henry Christoll, or Castide, the Irish, at one time, wore no breeches. "The fourth day," says this good knight, in his narration to Froisart, "I ordayned other tables to be covered in the hall, after the usage of Englande, and I made these four kings to sit at the hyghe table, and their minstrels at another board, and their servants and varlets at another beneath them, whereof by semyng they were displeased and beheld each other, and wolde not eate, and sayd howe I wolde take from them their good usage, wherein they had been nourished. When they had heard that they suffered it, because they had put themselves under the protection of the King of England, they persevered in the same as long as I was with them. But yet they had one custom, which I knew well was used in their countrie, *that was, they dyde wear no breches*, so I caused breches of linnen clothe to be made for them."

A more serious nuisance than that of the breeches market was that of public rioting, which was carried to a fearful extent during the latter half of the 18th century. The mayor of 1761, Andrew Franklin, had a serjeant and twelve men to mount guard, at his door, during his last three months of office.

"April 28th, 1768. For some weeks past a great number of idle vagabonds had annoyed the city, by assembling in different parts of the suburbs on the Sabbath day, for the purpose of cutting and hacking, not only one another, but any of the inhabitants who might fall in their way. Several pitched battles were appointed to be fought by these gentry about the May-pole."

“December 31st, 1769 :—Rioting had become so common in this city, that it was not safe for any person to stand at his door without some weapon of defence, a most glaring instance of which appeared this evening. Four peaceable persons, near the Exchange, (two of whom were women) were insulted, cut, and beaten, by one Mat Reily, a journeyman saddler, a most notorious offender, who came up to them severally armed with a knife, hammer, and stick, and used them as above, for no other reason than bidding him go about his business. Informations were immediately lodged against him, and a parish constable took him prisoner ; he afterwards rescued himself, and nearly murdered the constable ; but he was subsequently retaken.”

Some of these were trade, and others food riots. The tradesmen of Cork and Dublin were at fierce war in 1766 and the following years. Six hundred and forty pounds was granted in 1766, to Samuel Beale, Robert Stevally, John Litchfield, Mary Simmons, and Thomas Beeby, in compensation for goods—manufactured in Dublin—and which had been destroyed on their way to Cork, by a riotous mob.

“January 11th, 1772.—A number of men this evening, with their faces blackened, and armed with hangers and bludgeons, entered the shop of a respectable citizen, a woollen draper, near North Bridge, where they behaved in a most riotous and cruel manner, put out the candles, broke his shop windows in pieces, and cut, spoiled, and carried off large quantities of his goods. No reason could be assigned for this outrage, but that he sold English and Dublin goods.”

“January 15th, 1772.—Some carts on their way to the city, with goods, were attacked near Dublin-hill by a number of misguided people, who, by throwing great quantities of stones, obliged several of the owners, who were escorting them, to fly and leave the goods to their examination, which, after opening a box or two, they suffered to pass.”

“April 1st, 1772.—Four men destroyed a sloop near the Old Draw-bridge. She had a loom on board, of a new construction, which had been brought from Dublin.”

The woollen trade of Cork, and Dublin also, was destroyed by the act passed in the reign of William and Mary for discouraging the Irish woollen trade. Addresses were presented in June, 1698, to the Houses of Lords and Commons against the Irish woollen trade, when William III. used these remarkable words: “*I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland, and to encourage the linen trade* there, and to promote the trade of England.*”

The trade of a country takes a long time dying as well as growing, but there can be no doubt that the woollen trade of Cork and Dublin received a mortal thrust in 1698. On the 22nd of July, 1754, that is fifty-six years after the king had given this gracious reply to the English woollen manufacturers, four hundred weavers and combers walked in procession to the Cork gallows—a very significant place—with an effigy, we are not told of whom, dressed in chintz and foreign cotton, which they burned. They went farther than this,

* *Linen Trade*.—The success of the linen trade was owing, as we have shown, vol. ii., p. 47, to the exertions of the Earl of Strafford.

for several linen and cotton gowns were burned on the backs of the wearers, being sprinkled with aqua-fortis.

Food riots, as a natural consequence, follow trade riots. The people cry, first, "give us work: we are able and willing to do it." When this cannot be had, their cry is "*bread!*" and a terrible cry it is.

"Oct. 18, 1765. A mob, consisting of several hundred of butchers and weavers, armed with hatchets, cleavers, long knives and sticks, went through the city, and visited several of the merchants' cellars in search of meat and other provisions, which it had been reported were cellared up for exportation. They found little, besides some empty hampers, of which they made a bonfire on Mall Isle, supposing they were designed for transporting provisions in. They were put down by the military, headed by the city sheriffs, who apprehended seven of the most forward of them and committed them to the city gaol, but soon afterwards liberated them."

Provisions were so scarce this year that the mayor gave notice, that if any were shipped for exportation he would "cause the same to be unladen and sold in the public market."

"March 12th, 1778. A mob assembled in the city and its suburbs, under pretence of searching for provisions, alleged to have been for exportation to the North of Ireland, and destroyed a great deal of property, breaking the doors and windows of several of the merchants' warehouses, and cutting down the masts, and destroying the rigging of ships. During the riot, some shots were fired, which killed two men and wounded several."

Wheat was at this time about 29s. 6d. a bag; oats and meal, 2s. 8d. a peck; and potatoes, 5d. a weight of 21lbs. The following list gives us the weight and price of the household loaf,* and the price of wheat, meal, oats, and potatoes in Cork, from 1771 to 1800 inclusive :—

Year.	Weight of the Six-penny Household loaf.			Wheat per Bag.		Oatmeal per Peck.		Potatoes per Weight.	
	lbs.	os.	drs.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
1771	5	4	0	23	0	2	8	0	5
1772	4	15	0	27	6	3	3	0	7
1773	4	10	0	28	6	2	2		
1774	4	4	0	30	6			0	10
1775	5	0	1	27	0	2	0	0	4
1776	5	0	7	24	6	3	0	0	8
1777	5	7	2	24	0	2	0	0	3½
1778	4	6	4	29	6	2	8	0	5
1779	5	15	5	21	0	2	2	0	3
1780	6	5	1	18	6	2	2	0	3
1781	4	14	0	25	0	2	8	0	6
1782	4	4	0	30	0	2	8	0	4
1783	4	6	0	30	6	3	8	0	9
1784	3	12	7	34	0	3	4	0	6
1785	5	15	5	21	0	2	0	0	2
1786	4	8	2	27	6	3	8	0	9
1787	4	14	0	25	6	3	0	0	3½
1788	5	0	1	24	6	3	0	0	4
1789	4	2	0	31	6	2	8	0	4
1790	3	13	6	31	9	3	4	0	6
1791	4	1	0	31	0	3	8	0	5
1792				23	0	3	0	0	3½
1793	4	2	2	28	1	3	8	0	10
1794	3	5	1	36	0	3	8	0	4
1795	3	2	0	41	6	4	0	0	4
1796	3	4	4	39	6	4	0	0	9½
1797	4	9	0	22	3				
1798	3	7	2	32	0				
1799	3	5	6	34	9	4	4	0	8
1800	1	14	0	59	0	8	8	1	4

* *Household loaf.* An order of the Court of D'Oyer Hundred was passed, December 8rd, 1794, for the erection of public ovens, to be used when the bakers should not think proper to supply the citizens with bread of the legal size. Ground near the Corn Market was ordered to be taken for the new bakery.

The price of bread was proportionably higher, judging from our own times, than other articles. Butter was at this time about 4d. a pound; brandy, 1s. 1½d. a quart; claret from 9s. to 12s. a dozen.

Cheap wine and brandy led to hard drinking,* which prevailed in Cork to a fearful extent during the latter half of the eighteenth century. This habit was also fostered by the great number of political clubs and rendezvous houses which prevailed at this period. The Friendly Club was the first and most important. It was originally composed of the party who defeated the old corporation, and introduced new principles of civic government.

A curious tract appeared in 1751, entitled "A Ramble through Bagdad, in a Letter from Philologos to his Friend," from which we take the following sketch. "Yonder's a group of figures, by appearance men, but by their actions and their passions, rather monsters transformed to human shape." Harsh language this for the reformers of the old corporation. We have pictures of the principal members—by an old corporation man, we suspect. Mr. Thomas Bousfield, the founder, or father, of the club, a man of gravity, is styled Saturn; Robert Travers, who was never known to delay the bottle in its circuit round the table, Bacchus; Adam Newman, a fiery man, with an impediment in his speech, Aaron Hothead; Robert Wrixon, Simon Foolspate; Francis Carleton, remarkable for his pomposity and grandeur, Scalpin Lofty; and William Owgan, the principal speaker, Orator Club. The

* *Hard drinking.* Philip Luckombe, speaking of sedan chairs, the fare of which was 4d. in 1778, says—"These vehicles are extremely convenient for the followers of Bacchus, who has a great number of votaries in this city."

object of the club seems to have been to promote the interests of the members of the corporation. They are described by Alexander the Coppersmith as "persons who wanted to get into power, and for this end they throw dust in your eyes."

A regular drinking club was established by tradesmen in the city, the number of letters in whose christian names amounted to forty-five. They met at a public-house where they spent forty-five pence each, and each drank exactly forty-five glasses of punch, which produced forty-five toasts and sentiments, including the glorious memory, and a prayer against despotic rulers.

These political and drinking clubs became so much in vogue, that a number of gentlemen's servants established one in George's Street, "and such a degree of respectability had this place of resort attained, that printed cards of invitation were regularly issued to the members on the nights of meeting." But the Cork magistrates, who seem to have had no proper appreciation of "high-life below stairs," suppressed this most respectable institution, on the 16th of December, 1788, and, what is more extraordinary, committed a number of the members to bridewell. The masters of these servants probably wished to know where the money came from. The wages of men servants, about a hundred and twenty years ago, were from three to four pounds a-year. A brigadier-general's coachman got as much as six pounds a-year; but this would not pay for printed cards. Paper, at this time, was eight or nine pence a quire.

This severity did not proceed from any disinclination on the part of the citizens for social or public amuse-

ments. They resorted, in 1750, to a green on Hammond's Marsh, where they had a band of music. In the adjoining Assembly-House they had cards, and dancing, twice a-week. A new Assembly-House was erected in George's Street, and a large room, with a music gallery,* and suitable apartments, in Tuckey Street, in 1770.

A great change has taken place since then. The first Assembly-House became the site of a Methodist, the second of an Independent Chapel. The Music Room, in Tuckey Street, was, for some time, occupied as a Presbyterian place of worship.

The friendly feeling and social intercourse which existed between Protestant and Catholic, during a large portion of the eighteenth century, was owing to the concession, or silent submission, of the latter, to the deprivation of his civic and political rights and privileges. They consented to be patronised by their Protestant neighbours, and were therefore esteemed quiet and "genteel people." But this state of things could not last for ever. The Catholic merchants and tradesmen, who depended on nothing but their own industry and enterprise for success, were beginning to out-number and overtop the favored and protected Protestants; they built better houses, kept better tables, drove handsomer carriages, and gave better fortunes to their daughters than the Protestants. Nor did they neglect to build better places of worship.† Mr. Philip Luckombe, who visited this city

* *Music gallery*.—There were also weekly meetings called *drums*, patronised by the military, where they promenaded, danced, and played cards. The price of admission was small.

† *Places of Worship*. The foundation of a Catholic Chapel was laid in *Bandon* the 28th of April, 1798.

in 1783, says, "On Sunday morning, early, I stepped into one of their mass-houses, and a spacious one it was. The priest had just finished the celebration of mass. There were several elegant carriages standing before the door when I entered, and a prodigious crowd of people in the street, as motley an assemblage of human creatures as I had ever seen."

This prodigious crowd, or motley assemblage, began to feel its own power, or rather the people in the elegant carriages to estimate it, and see in what way it could be turned to their advantage, for their wealth was no compensation for the loss of political and civil rights, but rather a reason for their possessing them. But they must be cautious and bide their time, for these were the days of American Independence, and of the great French revolution, when men in elegant carriages were carried to the guillotine. The volunteers of Belfast instructed their deputies—met at a convention in Dublin in 1783—to propose the admission of Roman Catholics to the rights of freemen, when Lord Kenmare, who was then esteemed the leader of the Irish Catholics, disavowed, in their name, any wish to be restored to these privileges. Low and prostrate as the Catholics were, this insult was too much for their patience. They assembled in a General Committee,* and disavowed both his lordship and his disavowal. They had not yet come to love the music of their chains, although they did not choose to have them knocked off by men like Wolfe Tone, or Maximilian Robespierre. Their bosoms were beginning, at this

* *General Committee.*—Composed of Catholic bishops, country gentlemen, and merchants and traders, all resident in Dublin, who were named by the Catholics, in the different corporate towns, to represent them, and guard their interests.

time, to heave and swell with "the spirit of universal emancipation," which had swept like a hurricane over the eastern and western hemispheres. They petitioned the Irish parliament. Their petition was treated with the utmost contempt,* and they, themselves, were designated as a rabble of obscure pot-drinking mechanics, who met in holes and corners, and fancied themselves the representatives of the Catholic body, which despised them. Flesh and blood could not endure this. Shame and indignation were boiling in the veins of the Catholic committee of Dublin. They would look no longer to the borough parliament of College Green, but look to themselves. They rose, coalesced with the dissenters and republicans of the North, and established the Society of United Irishmen. The English government had long anticipated such a state of things, and had prepared to meet it by the enrolment of Irish Protestants into militia and volunteer corps. But Irish Protestants acted for themselves. On the 15th of February, 1778, the corporation made a grant of three hundred guineas for raising troops for his majesty's service. The grant was confirmed by the Court D'Oyer Hundred. The legality of raising troops, without the consent of parliament, was, at this time, under the consideration of English judges. On the 26th of March the following document was subscribed in Cork :

"WE, THE UNDERNAMED SUBSCRIBERS, DO AGREE TO ASSOCIATE OURSELVES FOR THE PURPOSES OF PRESERVING

* *Utmost contempt.* The Catholic petition had laid on the table of the house for three days, when it was rejected, on a special motion, by David Latouche.

THE PEACE OF THIS CITY, AND THE PROPERTY OF THE INHABITANTS THEREOF. CORK, 26TH MARCH, 1778.

Godfrey Baker,	Will. Mannix,	Ben. Whiteston,
Jas. Morrison,	Will. Warren,	Sampson Jervis,
John Terry,	Michl. Mahony,	Sol. Newsom,
M. R. Westropp,	Willm. Radcliffe,	W. Leycester,
Savage French,	Nobl. Johnson,	Humph. Crowley,
Paul Benson,	Christ. Lawton,	Jacob Crawford,
Paul Piercy,	Thos. Benson,	Tho. Chatterton,
Joseph Rogers,	T. H. Coppinger,	Wm. Kennedy,
Noblett Rogers,	Henry Leahy,	Chas. Willcocks,
Edw. Hoare,	Vall. Johnson,	Fitzmaur. Cogan,
Thos. Boles,	Jasper Herriek,	Wm. Reynolds,
Richd. Townsend,	Gilbert Mellifont,	Joseph Bennett,
Wm. Saunders,	Luke Foreman,	Great Smyth,
John Digby,	James Robinson,	Thoms. Smith,
Wm. Harrington,	Christ. Allen,	Hen. Hamilton,
John Snowe,	James Raynes,	Fras. Dorman,
Thomas Kift,	John Hopkins,	Thomas Dorman,
James Ingram,	Thos. Cochrane,	John Shaw,
Jas. Morrison, jr.,	Saml. Jervois,	Thos. White,
James Sadler,	Edward Sweeney,	Richard Clear,
Jno. Carleton,	Jasper Rashleigh,	J. Gray Ruddock,
Christ. Waggett,	Edward Daly,	John Cuthbert,
Jo. Oates,	Mathew Bagnell,	Robt. Stawell,
James Kingston,	J. Wallis,	J. St. L. Gillman,
Thomas Power,	James Carr,	Peter Egan,
Rowl. Morrison,	R. S. L. Atkins,	Wm. Norcott,
William Cotter,	Aug. Warren,	Moore Hardaway,
Timothy Hughes,	Hugh Millards,	Christ. Allen,
Richd. Harris,	Sampson Austen,	Chas. Leslie,

Jeffry Piersy,	Will. Wilcocks,	P. Cossart Baker,
Peter Cossart,	Jno. Jas. Murry,	Henry Cuthbert,
Richd. Perry,	Julius Besnard,	Peter Hyald,
Roger Adams,	Jno. Travers,	John Cole,
Marm. Peacocke,	J. Herbert Orpen,	James Lee,
Joseph Harman,	Aylmr. Allen,	Jos. Oates,
John Cole,	Ewd. Jameson,	James Boyce,
George Archer,	D. Mellifont, jr.,	Robert Patterson,
Thoms. Wagget,	John Woulfe,	John Ths. Baron,
Chas. Denroche,	Geo. Seymour,	John Corker,
Jasper Lucas,	John Connor,	Fran. Busteed,
Tym. Lane,	John Thompson,	Thoms. Boles,
Thoms. Browne,	John Peddy,	Robert Davies,
Hu. Shewcraft,	Richd. Beamish,	Mat. Brown,
John Lapp, jun.,	Frans. Gray,	E. W. Wilmot,
Bog. Q. Langley,	Nicholas Kellett,	Ferdinand Spiller,
John Ronand,	Samuel Maylor,	Richard Lawton,
Wm. Digby,	James Smith,	Jams. Sweeds.
Henry Sheares,*	Thomas Harding,	Thoms. Gonnell.
Michl. Busteed,	Michl. Hutchins,	

The following is a correct list of the volunteers for this county, and the date of their enrolment. The cavalry consisted of one troop each:—

CAVALRY OF THE COUNTY CORK.

TRUE BLUE OF CORK. Enrolled 1745. Uniform: blue, laced silver, epaulets, white buttons. Furniture: goat-skin. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Richard Earl of Shannon, and Captain Shaw.

MITCHELSTOWN LIGHT DRAGOONS. Enrolled 1774. Uniform: scarlet, faced black, silver, epaulets, yellow

* *Henry Sheares*, the father of the "*Two Sheares*."

helmets, white buttons. Furniture: goat-skin, edged black. Officers in 1782—Colonel Viscount Kingsborough; Lieut.-Colonel, Henry Cole Bowen; Major, James Badham Thornhill; Captain, Harmer Spratt; Lieutenant, William Raymond; Cornet, William Alsop; Chaplain, Thomas Bush; Surgeon, David Fitzgerald; Secretary, John Ryan.

BLACKPOOL HORSE. Enrolled 1776. Uniform: green, laced gold, ditto epaulets, buff waistcoats and breeches. Furniture, goat skin. Officers in 1782—Colonel, John Harding; Lieut.-Colonel, Thos. Barry; Major, William Alexander; Lieutenant, Bradshaw Popham; Chaplain, Arthur Hyde; Surgeon, Richard Maguire.

YOUGHAL CAVALRY. Enrolled 1776. Uniform: scarlet, faced white. Officers in 1782—Captain commanding, Robert Ball; Lieutenant, John Smith; Chaplain, Hon. Robert Moore; Secretary, John Segwick.

BANDON CAVALRY. Enrolled 1778. Uniform: dark olive, green jacket, half lappelled, crimson velvet cuffs and collar, silver epaulets. Furniture: white cloth, hoseing and holster caps, embroidered. Device, B. C. harp and crown. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Sampson Stawell; Major, John Moore Travers; Captains, Robert Waterhouse, Simon T. Davies; Cornet, Charles Bernard; Chaplain, Charles Hewitt.

MUSKERRY BLUE, L. D. Enrolled 1778. Uniform: blue, lappelled, edged white, silver epaulets, white jackets, edged blue. Furniture: goat-skin. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Robert Warren; Lieut.-Colonel, Robert Hutchinson; Major, Samuel Sweete; Lieutenant,

Thomas Coppinger; Chaplain, Edward Kenny; Adjutant, Thomas Coppinger; Surgeon, Richard Grey; Quarter-master, John Spread; Secretary, James d'Altera.

DUHALLOW RANGERS. Enrolled 1778. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Hon. Charles Percival; Lieut.-Colonel, William Wrixon; Major, Robert Wrixon; Captain, George Crofts; Cornet, James Purcell; Chaplain, Arthur Kiely; Secretary, William Dore.

IMOKILLY HORSE. Enrolled 1778. Uniform: scarlet, faced black, yellow buttons, gold epaulets, yellow helmets, white jackets, edged red. Furniture: goat-skin, trimmed red. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Edward Roche; Lieut.-Colonel, Robert M'Carthy; Captain, Robert Ball; Cornet, John Fitzgerald; Chaplain, Jeremiah Heart; Surgeon, John Nagle, M.D.; Secretary, William Garde.

KILWORTH L. D. Enrolled 1779. Uniform: scarlet, faced green, gold epaulets, yellow buttons, and helmets. Furniture: goat-skin, trimmed green. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Stephen, Earl of Mountcashel; Lieut.-Col. Arthur Hyde; Major, John Hyde; Captain, William Newenham; Lieutenant, Thomas Power; Cornet, Garret Wall; Chaplain, Hon. Robert Moore; Surgeon, John Pigott, M.D.; Adjutant and Secretary, Richard Whitford.

IMOKILLY BLUE HORSE. Enrolled 1779. Uniform: blue, faced red. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Robert Uniack Fitzgerald; Major, Thomas Fitzgerald; Captain, — Travers; Lieutenant, — Uniack; Chaplain, Edward Hardwood; Secretary, John Hanning.

DONERAILE RANGERS L. D. Enrolled 1779. Uniform : scarlet, faced green, edged white, gold epaulets, yellow buttons and helmets, green jackets, faced red. Furniture : goat-skin. Officers in 1782 — Colonel, Sentleger Lord Doneraile ; Major, Hon. Hayes Sentleger ; Captain, Nicholas Green Evans ; Lieutenant, John Watkins ; Cornet, Nicholas Green Evans, Jun. ; Chaplain, Hon. James Sentleger ; Surgeon, John Creagh, M.D. ; Adjutant, Robert Atkins ; Secretary, James Hennessy.

GLANMIRE UNION. Enrolled 1779. Uniform : deep green, faced black. Furniture : goat-skin, trimmed green. Officers in 1779 — Colonel, Henry Mannix ; Captain, Simon Dring ; Cornet, Dean Hoare ; Chaplain, Archdeacon Corker ; Surgeon, James Bennet, M.D. ; Secretary, Rev. Chambre Corker.

CORK CAVALRY, Uniform : scarlet, faced blue, silver laced ; silver epaulets, white buttons. Furniture : blue cloth, laced gold. Officers in 1782—Colonel, William Chetwynd ; Major, John Gillman ; Captain, John Smith ; Cornet, Paul Piersy ; Surgeon, Thomas Harris ; Secretary, John Smith.

MALLOW CAVALRY. Enrolled 1782. Uniform : green jackets. Officer in 1782—Colonel Cotter.

GREAT ISLAND CAVALRY. Enrolled 1782. Uniform : scarlet, faced green ; gold epaulets, yellow buttons, white jackets edged red. Furniture, goat-skin. Officers in 1782—Captain, Wallis Colthurst ; Lieutenant, William Colthurst ; Cornet, Henry Widenham ; Adjutant, Rickard Donovan ; Surgeon, Patrick Fitzgerald ; Secretary, John Roche.

INFANTRY OF THE COUNTY CORK.

CORK ARTILLERY. Force: 1 company, 2 four-pounders. Uniform: blue, faced scarlet; yellow buttons, gold lace. Officers in 1782—Captain, Richard Hare, jun.; Lieutenant, Francis Jones.

INOKILLY BLUE ARTILLERY. Force: 1 company, 2 four-pounders. Uniform: blue, faced scarlet. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Robert Uniack Fitzgerald; Major, Thomas Fitzgerald.

TRUE BLUE OF CORK. Enrolled 1745. Force: 4 companies; 1 gren., 2 bat., 1 light. Uniform: blue, faced silver; white buttons. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Richard, Earl Shannon; Lieut.-Colonels, Godfrey Baker and James Morrison; Major, Michael Roberts Westrop; Captains, St. Leger Atkins, John Thompson, Francis Gray, and Richard Perry; Lieutenants, Jasper Lucas and Charles Denroche; Chaplain, William Jephson; Surgeon, — Davies, M.D.; Secretary, John Terry.

CORK BOYNE. Enrolled 1776. Force: 4 companies; 1 gren., 2 bat., 1 light. Uniform: blue, faced blue; yellow buttons, gold epaulets and lace. Officers in 1782—Colonel, John Bagwell; Lieut.-Colonel, Hugh Lawton; Major, John Bass; Captains, Arthur Connel, Thomas Chatterton, James Chatterton, and Daniel M'Carthy; Lieutenants, — Kearns, Robert Travers, James Chatterton, jun.; Chaplain, Henry Sandiford; Surgeon, Michael Busteed.

MALLOW BOYNE. Enrolled 1776. Force: 2 companies; 1 gren., 1 bat. Uniform: blue, edged buff; buff waistcoat and breeches, yellow buttons. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Sir James Lawrence Cotter, Bart.;

Captains, William Gallway and Edmund Spenser ; *
 Lieutenants, Samuel Lloyde and Robert Kell ; Ensign,
 Edmund Carpenter ; Surgeon, John Faulkes ; Quarter-
 master, George Faulkes.

BANDON BOYNE. Enrolled 1777. Force : 1 com-
 pany. Uniform : blue, edged buff ; yellow buttons,
 buff waistcoat and breeches, gold epaulets. Officers
 in 1782—Ensign, John Loane ; — Wright ; Surgeon,
 Richard Loane ; Secretary, Bernard Blake.

CARBERRY INDEPENDENTS. Enrolled 1777. Force :
 1 company. Uniform : scarlet, faced green ; yellow
 buttons. Officers in 1782 — Captain-Commanding,
 William Beecher ; Captain, John Townsend ; Lieu-
 tenant, Lionel Fleming ; Ensign, Beecher Fleming ;
 Chaplain, Wm. Robinson ; Surgeon, Thomas Clarke.

AUGHIRM OF CORK. Enrolled 1777. 3 companies.
 Uniform : scarlet, faced scarlet, edged white. Offi-
 cers in 1782—Colonel, Richard Longfield ; Lieut-Col.,
 Henry Herbert ; Major, Ebenezer Morrison ; Captains,
 Rowland Morrison and M. Busteed Westrop ; Chaplain,
 — Lee ; Surgeon, Samuel Hartwell.

LOYAL NEWBERRY MUSQUETEERS. Enrolled 1777.
 Force : 2 companies ; 1 grenadier, 1 light. Uniform :
 scarlet, faced black. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Adam
 Newman ; Major, John Newman ; Captains, Richard
 Foot and George Foot ; Lieutenants, James Lombard
 and Edmund Lombard ; Chaplain, Henry Newman.

CORK UNION. Enrolled 1776. Force : 4 com-
 panies ; 1 grenadier, 2 battalion, 1 light. Uniform :

* *Edmund Spenser.*—We conclude that this Edmund was the "great-great-
 great grandson of the poet Spenser," whom we mention in vol. i., p. 313, as
 having been buried in Mallow church-yard.

scarlet, faced green; yellow buttons. Officers in 1782 — Captain Commanding, Henry Hickman; Captains, Benjamin Hayes, Simon Cooke, James Gregg, and — Galway; Adjutant, James Hudson; Chaplain, Broderick Tuckey; Surgeon, — Townsend, M.D.; Secretary, James Gregg.

CULLODEN VOLUNTEERS OF CORK. Enrolled 1778. Force: 3 companies; 1 grenadier, 1 battalion, 1 light. Uniform: blue, faced scarlet; yellow buttons. Officers, gold epaulets. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Benjamin Bousfield; Captains, Henry Newsom; Sampson Jervais, and Isaac Jones; Chaplain, H. Baggs; Surgeon, — Porter.

ROSSCARBERRY VOLUNTEERS. Force: 1 company. Uniform: scarlet, faced blue. Officers in 1782 — Colonel, Thomas Hungerford; Captain, Michael Friend; Lieutenants, William Morriss and John Hungerford; Chaplain, Henry Jones.

PASSAGE UNION. Enrolled 1778. Force: 3 companies; 1 grenadier, 1 battalion, 1 light. Uniform: scarlet, faced deep green; white buttons. Officers in 1782 — Major Commanding, Michael Parker; Captains, Richard Roberts, Charles Clark, and Achilles Daunt; Ensign, Edward Ford; Adjutant, William Atkins; Chaplain, — Austen; Surgeon, Anthony Mana; Secretary, Michael Ford.

BANDON INDEPENDENTS. Enrolled 1778. Force: 1 company. Uniform: scarlet, faced black, gold epaulets, yellow buttons, green jackets, faced black. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Francis Bernard; Captain, Robert Sealy; Lieutenant, Thomas Child; Adjutant,

George Kingston ; Ensign, John Travers : Chaplain, George Sealy ; Surgeon, Richard Loane ; Secretary, Richard Needham.

YOUGHAL INDEPENDENT BLUES. Enrolled 1778. Force : 2 companies. Uniform : blue, faced scarlet, edged white. Officers in 1782 — Colonel, Robert Uniacke ; Captain, Richard Uniacke ; Lieutenants, Edward Green, Hugh Pollock, and Samuel Nealon ; Ensign, Richard Seymour ; Adjutant, Samuel Nealon ; Chaplain, John Lawless ; Surgeon, John Sedgwick ; Secretary, John Scamadon.

YOUGHAL RANGERS. Enrolled 1778. Force : 2 companies ; 1 grenadiers, 1 light. Uniform : grass green, faced scarlet, gold lace and yellow buttons. Officers in 1782 — Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding, Meade Hobson ; Major, John Swayne ; Captains, Samuel Hobson and Thomas Browning ; 1st Lieutenants, Samuel Freeman and John Sedgwick, Junior ; 2nd Lieutenant, James Ellard, Junior ; Chaplain, Jonas Pratt ; Surgeon, John Haig, M.D.

KINSALE VOLUNTEERS. Enrolled 1778. Force : 2 companies ; 1 light, 1 battalion. Officers in 1782 — Colonel, James Kearny ; Captains, Edward Leary and John Heard Edward ; Lieutenants, William Newman, Thomas Dunn, and Robert Lander ; Chaplain, Hon. Gerald De Courcey ; Adjutant, Jos. Coleman ; Surgeon, Robert Smith ; Secretary, George Frith.

HANOVER SOCIETY, CLOUGHNAKILTY. Enrolled 1778. Force : 2 companies. Uniform : scarlet, faced buff. Officers in 1782 — Colonel, Richard Hungerford ; Major, Thomas Hungerford ; Captains, John Hunger-

ford and Beecher Hungerford ; Lieutenant, Swithin White ; Adjutant, Richard Bagley ; Chaplain, John Townsend ; Secretary, Thomas Morgan.

KANTURK VOLUNTEERS. Enrolled 1778. Force : 1 company. Uniform : scarlet, faced light blue. Officers in 1782—Colonel, John James, Earl of Egmont ; Lieutenant-Colonel, Captain James Purcell ; Chaplain, Charles Fennel ; Surgeon, Daniel Williams.

HAWKE UNION OF COVE. Enrolled 1778. Force : 1 company. Uniform : blue, edged and lined buff, yellow buttons, buff waistcoat and breeches. Officers in 1782—Captain Commanding, William Dickson ; Captain, John Colthurst ; Lieutenants, William King Sliegh, Andrew Bym, and Ralph Sliegh ; Chaplain, — Atterbury ; Adjutant, William King Sliegh ; Surgeon, James Sall ; Secretary, William Hanah.

BLACKWATER RANGERS. Force : 1 company. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Richard Aldworth ; Lieutenant-Colonel, — Stanard.

BLARNEY VOLUNTEERS. Enrolled 1778. Force : 4 companies ; 1 gren., 2 bat., 1 light. Uniform : scarlet, faced black ; white buttons. Officers in 1782—Colonel, George Jefferys ; Lieut.-Colonel, Daniel Gibbs ; Captains, William Willisson, Edward O'Donoghue, Thos. Whaley, and Samuel Townsend ; Lieutenants, Francis Cottrel, William M'Creight, and Thomas Rubee ; Chaplain, Thomas Davies ; Second Chaplain, John Gibbs ; Surgeon, John Lee ; Secretary, Thomas Magin.

NEWMARKET RANGERS. Enrolled 1778. Force : 1 company. Uniform : blue, faced blue. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Boyle Aldworth ; Major, Wm. Allen ;

Captain, Sentloger Aldworth ; Chaplain, Henry Weston ; Surgeon, Richard Graham ; Secretary, Lawrence Curran. *

CURRIGLASS VOLUNTEERS. Enrolled 1779. Force : 1 company. Officers in 1782—Captain Com., Peard Harrison Peard ; Lieutenant, Stephen Roleston ; Chaplain, ——— Percival ; Secretary, James Graham.

CASTLE-MARTYR SOCIETY. Enrolled 1779. Force : 1 company. Uniform : scarlet, faced pale yellow. Officers in 1782—Captain, William Hallaran ; Lieutenant, T. C. Wheble.

INCHIGEELAGH VOLUNTEERS. Enrolled 1779. Force : 1 light company. Uniform : blue, edged buff ; buff waistcoat and breeches. Officers in 1782—Captain Com., Jasper Masters ; Lieutenant, John Boyle ; Ensign, Benjamin Sweete ; Chaplain, Edward Weeks ; Surgeon, Wm. Grainger ; Secretary Henry Grainger.

MUSKERRY VOLUNTEERS. Enrolled 1779. Force : 1 company. Uniform : blue, edged buff ; buff waistcoat and breeches. Officers in 1782—Captain Com., Thomas Barter ; Captain, William Ashe ; Lieutenant, John Barter ; Ensign, Matthew Menheer ; Chaplain, Edward Synge Townsend ; Surgeon, Richard Grey, M.D. ; Adjutant, John Butler.

DONERAILE RANGERS. Enrolled 1779. Force : 1 company. Uniform : scarlet, faced green ; yellow buttons, gold epaulets. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Sent-

* *Laurence Curran.*—This Lawrence, or Lowry, Curran, was a brother to the judge, John Philpot Curran. He married a Miss Webb, by whom he had a large family. Captain John Curran, married to a Miss Armstrong, was a son of his. Another son, William, kept a classical school in Kanturk. He died in Newmarket, where he is buried. Another son was in the Kanturk workhouse. A collection was made a few years ago to send him to America.

leger, Lord Doneraile ; Major, Hon. Hayes Sentleger ; Captain, John Welstead ; Lieutenant, George Roberts, Adjutant, Robert Atkins ; Chaplain, Hon. James Sentleger ; Surgeon, John Creagh, M.D. ; Secretary, James Hennessy.

BANTRY VOLUNTEERS. Enrolled 1779. Force : 1 company. Uniform : scarlet, faced white. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Hamilton White ; Captain, Richard Blair ; Lieutenant, David Melefont ; Ensigns, Henry Galway and John Young ; Adjutant, Henry Galway ; Secretary, Francis Hoskin.

KILWORTH VOLUNTEERS. Enrolled 1779. Force : 1 company. Uniform : scarlet, faced green, yellow buttons. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Stephen, Earl Mountcashel ; Lieut.-Col., Arthur Hyde ; Major, John Hyde ; Captain, Robert Hendley ; Lieutenant, John Drew ; Ensign, — Lord Kilworth ; Adjutant, Richard Whitford ; Chaplain, Hon. Robert Moore ; Secretary, Richard Whitford.

MALLOW INDEPENDENTS. Enrolled 1779. Force : 1 company. Uniform : scarlet, faced green, yellow buttons. Officers in 1782—Colonel, John Longfield ; Captain, George Stawell ; Ensign, Jonas Stawell ; Adjutant, James Magrath ; Secretary, James Magrath.

YOUGHAL UNION FUZILEERS. Enrolled 1779. Force : 2 companies. Uniform : scarlet, faced blue, edged white, white buttons. Officers in 1782—Major-Com., Thomas Green ; Captains, John Reeves, William Jackson and David Freeman ; Lieutenants, Thomas Walshe and James Greene ; Chaplain, Richard Vincent ; Surgeon, Benjamin Jackson.

DUHALLOW VOLUNTEERS. Enrolled 1779. Force: 1 company. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Broderick Chinery; Captain, William Leader; Lieutenant, Henry Leader.

KINNELEA AND KERRECH UNION. Enrolled 1779. Force: 3 companies. Uniform: blue, edged white, white buttons. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Thomas Roberts; Lieut.-Col., Thomas Herrick; Major, John Roberts; Captains, Richard Townsend, Thomas Daunt and Michael B. Westrop; Lieutenants, George Daunt William Daunt and — Carey; Ensign, — Peed.

CHARLEVILLE VOLUNTEERS. Officers in 1782—Colonel, Chidley Coote; Major, St. George Hatfield; Lieutenant, — Sanders; Secretary, George Hooper.

IMOKILLY BLUE INFANTRY. Colonel, Robert Uniack Fitzgerald.

CHAPTER IX.

ARMED SOCIETIES—WOLFE TONE AND THE BANTREY BAY

EXPEDITION—THE REBELLION OF 1798—

THE TWO SHEARES.

THE volunteer companies described in the last chapter, were little more than armed political clubs. Political clubs were the order of the day. Most of these had a strong Protestant bias, but withal a revolutionary tendency. Here rebellion was first hatched; within these nests were reared the petrels of the coming storm. In 1772, ten years before the passing of what is styled "Irish Independence," there existed in Cork a society called the "Free Debating Society." Its president bore the ominous name of Henry Sheares. He was the father of the "Two Sheares." It is not improbable that these young men learned from the lips of their own father the first elements of those principles of liberty, the undue and violent development of which brought them to the scaffold.

We find, at this time, a disposition on the part of some of these societies, to fraternise with the Roman Catholics. The armed company or club called the Cork Union, had their scarlet coats turned up with

green, and wore the green cockade. There was more than met the eye in this adoption of the national color. This armed company did not actually sing—for the words were not then composed—

“ ’Tis the green, ’tis the green, ’tis the color of the true,
And we’ll back it ’gainst the olive, and we’ll raise it o’er the blue,”

but in passing one day through the Grand Parade, after a review in the Mardyke field, they fired several volleys, *and gave three cheers for Saint Patrick !*

The English government were not slow in discovering this change of feeling, and that Ireland could be no longer governed on the “divide and conquer” principle. They hailed, we hope with sincerity, a better feeling between Protestant and Catholic, and passed an act on the 25th of September, 1778, permitting Catholics to take long leases; and on the 1st of January, 1780, the repeal of the act of William and Mary, which prohibited the export of Irish woollen goods, was proclaimed in Cork amidst the ringing of bells, the firing of feu de joies, and public illuminations. But the repeal of this infamous law was too late; our woollen trade was too far gone to be recalled; it had now a fixed habitation in England. The repeal of the law was not worth the powder expended on the feu de joie, but it amused the people.

On the 31st of May, 1780, there was a grand review of the “United Independent Volunteers,” in the city of Cork; and on the 4th of November, of the same year, the anniversary of King William’s birth, “some” of the armed societies met, and fired three volleys on the Mall. Irish Protestants were just beginning to open their eyes, and to understand that the bright

picture of national prosperity, which had passed before them as the result of Protestant ascendancy, was no more than a deceptive dream. There were men in the South who would have shut their eyes and dreamed again, but they were aroused from their slumbers by the shouts and firm tread of the volunteers of the North, of the men of Dungannon, who felt that they had been deceived and bamboozled, and who could stand it no longer. These were the men who dictated terms at the touch-holes of their cannon, who resolved to be righted "or ——." The country was proud of these men. It was a glorious period, but it passed away with the independence which they won; nor do we regret it, for it was the independence of a *party* and not of the nation.

Men of other views and other metal took their place. The brave but facile and amiable Lord Charlemont gave place to Theobald Wolfe Tone, a name like Maximilian Robespierre, with which to terrify kings in their cradles. This man was the founder and secretary of the Society of United Irishmen. He was the most determined man of his day. He was true to his motto—*Nil desperandum*. He did as much as man could do to conquer Ireland by French bayonets, in order that it might be converted to French and republican opinions, or to anything but what it was. He bore an undying hatred to the English rule. He would "rather that France, Spain, the Autocrat of Russia, or the Devil himself, had the country, than England."

He landed in Havre-de-Grace on the 2nd of February, 1796. He kept a journal of his proceedings and, we may add, thoughts, from which we shall quote,

though we may not always mark the quotation. He writes from Paris, August 7th, 1796, in reference to the Bantry Bay expedition, "As I shall embark in a business in a few days, the event of which is uncertain, I take the opportunity of a vacant hour to throw on paper a few memorandums, relative to myself and family." He was born in Dublin, the 20th of June, 1763. He entered Trinity College, got a scholarship, and then a wife; tried the law and failed, wrote political pamphlets, organized clubs, became the secretary of the United Irishmen, went to America and from that to France, where we now find him just landed.

"Feb. 6th, 1796.—It is singular, but I have had several occasions already to observe it, that there is more difficulty in passing silver than paper." But we soon find him running out of both. "Rose early this morning and wrote a threatening letter to Carnot, 'if he did not put five pounds in a sartin place' " —

Carnot, whom he styles the "Organizer of Victory," asks him were there not "some strong places in Ireland?" He answers, "I know none, but some works to defend the harbour of Cork. Carnot thinks, and says, "Aye, Cork—but may it not be necessary to land there."—"By which I perceived he had been organizing a little in his own mind."

He hears bad news from Ireland, that Sir Edward Bellew, of Bellewstown, has been arrested, and writes, "Well, a day will come for all this. If we cannot prevent his fall, at least, I hope, we shall be able to revenge it; and I, for one, if it be in twenty years from this, *promise not to forget it*. My heart is hardening hourly, and I satisfy myself now, at once, on points

which would stagger me twelve months ago. The Irish aristocracy are putting themselves in a state of nature with the people, and let them take the consequence. They show no mercy and they deserve none. If ever I have the power I will most dreadfully concur in making them a dreadful example."

He is introduced to Hoche, the general who had charge of the Bantry Bay expedition. "As I was sitting in my cabinet, studying my tactics, a person knocked at the door, who, on opening it, proved to be a dragoon of the third regiment. He brought me a note from Clarke, informing me that he was arrived, and desired to see me at one o'clock. I ran off directly to the Luxembourg, and was showed into Fleury's cabinet, where I remained till three, when the door opened, and a very handsome, well-made young fellow, in a brown coat and nankeen pantaloons, entered and said, 'Vous vous êtes le citoyen Smith?' (I thought he was chef de bureau.) 'Oui citoyen, je m'appelle, Smith.' He said, 'Vous vous appelez, aussi, je crois, Wolfe Tone?' I replied, 'Oui citoyen, c'est mon véritable nom.' 'Eh bien,' replied he, 'Je suis le General Hoche.' At these words I mentioned that I had for a long time been desirous of the honor I then enjoyed, to find myself in his company. 'Into his arms I soon did fly, and there embraced him tenderly.'

"He then said he presumed I was the author of the memorandums which had been transmitted to him. I said I was. 'Well,' said he, 'there are one or two points I want to consult you on.' He then proceeded to ask me, in case of the landing being effectuated,

might he rely on finding provisions, and particularly bread? I said it would be impossible to make any arrangements in Ireland previous to the landing, because of the *surveillance* of the government; but if that were once accomplished there would be no want of provisions; that Ireland abounded in cattle, and, as for bread, I saw by the Gazette that there was not only no deficiency of corn, but that she was able to supply England, in a great degree, during the late alarming scarcity in that country, and I assured him, that if the French were once in Ireland, he might rely, that whoever wanted bread they should not want it.

“He seemed satisfied with this, and proceeded to ask me, might we count upon being able to form a provisory government, either of the Catholic committee mentioned in my memorials, or of the chiefs of the Defenders? I thought I saw an opening here to come at the number of troops intended for us, and replied that that would depend on the force which might be landed; if that force were but trifling, I could not pretend to say how they might act; but if it was considerable, I had no doubt of their co-operation. ‘Undoubtedly,’ replied he, ‘men will not sacrifice themselves when they do not see a reasonable prospect of support; but, if I go, you may be sure I will go in sufficient force.’ He then asked, did I think ten thousand would decide them? I answered undoubtedly, but that early in the business the minister had spoken to me of two thousand, and that I had replied that such a number would effect nothing. ‘No,’ replied he, ‘they would be overwhelmed before any one could join them.’ I replied that I was glad to hear him

give that opinion, as it was precisely what I had stated to the minister ; and I repeated that, with the force he mentioned, I have no doubt of support and co-operation sufficient to form a provisory government.

“He then asked me what I thought of the priests, or was it likely they would give us any trouble ? I replied, I certainly did not calculate on their assistance, but neither did I think they would be able to give us any effectual opposition ; that their influence over the minds of the common people was exceedingly diminished of late, and I instanced the case of the Defenders, so often mentioned in my memorials. I explained all this, at some length, to him, and concluded by saying, that in prudence we should avoid, as much as possible, shocking their prejudices unnecessarily, and that with common discretion, I thought we might secure their neutrality at least, if not their support. I mentioned this as merely my opinion, but added that in the contrary event, I was satisfied it would be absolutely impossible for them to take the people out of our hands.

“We then came to the army ; he asked me how I thought they would act ? I replied, for the regulars I could not pretend to say, but that they were wretched bad troops ; for the militia, I hoped and believed that when we were once organised, they would not only not oppose us, but come over to the cause of their country *en masse* ; nevertheless I desired him to calculate on their opposition, and make his arrangements accordingly ; that it was the safe policy, and if it became necessary, it was so much gained. He said he would undoubtedly, make his arrangements, so as to leave

nothing to chance, that could be guarded against ; that he would come in force, and bring great quantities of arms, ammunition, stores, and artillery ; and, for his own reputation, see that all the arrangements were made on a proper scale. I was very glad to hear him speak thus ; it sets my mind at ease on divers points. He then said there was one important point remaining, on which he desired to be satisfied ; and that was, what form of government we would adopt on the event of our success.

“ I was going to answer him, with great earnestness, when General Clarke entered, to request we would come to dinner with citizen Carnot. We accordingly adjourned the conversation to the apartment of the president, where we found Carnot and one or two more.

“ Hoche, after some time, took me aside and repeated his question. I replied, ‘ Most undoubtedly a republic.’ He asked again, ‘ Was I sure ?’ I said, ‘ As sure as I can be of anything,’ and that I knew nobody in Ireland who thought of any other system, nor did I believe there was anybody who dreamt of monarchy. He asked me was there any danger of the Catholics setting up one of their chiefs for king ? I replied, ‘ Not the smallest,’ and that there were no chiefs amongst them of that kind of eminence. This is the old business again, but I believe I satisfied Hoche ; it looks well to see him so anxious on this topic, on which he pressed me more than all the others. Carnot joined us here with a pocket map of Ireland.”

Wolfe Tone got his commission as a chef-de-brigade on the 23rd of July, 1796, and received orders to

embark at Brest, on board the Indomitable, of eighty guns, for Bantry, on 1st of December. The expedition did not sail till the 16th. "At nine this morning a fog so thick that we cannot see a ship's length before us. Hazy weather, Master Noah, damn it:

If we are doomed to die, we are enough
To do our country loss; and if we rise,
The fewer men, the greater share of loss.

This damned fog continues without interruption."

"December 21.—Last night, just at sunset, signal for seven sail in the offing; all in high spirits, in hopes that it is our comrades. Stark calm all the fore part of the night; at length a breeze sprung up, and this morning, at day-break, we are under Cape Clear, distant about four leagues, so I have, at all events, once more seen my country; but the pleasure I should otherwise feel at this, is totally destroyed by the absence of the general, who has not joined, and of whom we know nothing.

"December 22.—This morning at eight we have neared Bantry Bay considerably, but the fleet is terribly scattered, no news of the *Fraternité*; I believe it is the first instance of an admiral in a clean frigate, with moderate weather and moonlight nights, parting company with his fleet. Captain Grammont, our first lieutenant, told me his opinion is, that she is either taken or lost, and in either event it is a terrible blow to us. All rests upon Grouchy, and I hope he may turn out well. He has a glorious game in his hands, if he has spirit and talent to play it; if he succeeds, it will immortalize him.

“ December 25.—Last night I had the strongest expectation that to-day we should debark, but at two, this morning, I was awakened by the wind; I rose immediately, and wrapping myself in my great-coat, walked for an hour in the gallery, devoured by the most gloomy reflections. The wind continues right-ahead, so that it is absolutely impossible to work up to the landing place, and God knows when it will change. The same wind is exactly favorable to bring the English upon us, and these cruel delays give the enemy time to assemble his entire force in this neighbourhood, and perhaps (it is unfortunately more than perhaps) by his superiority in numbers—in cavalry, in artillery, in money, in provisions, in short in everything we want, to crush us, supposing we are even able to effectuate a landing at last; at the same time that the fleet will be caught as in a trap.

“ Had we been able to land the first day and march directly to Cork, we should have infallibly carried it by a coup de main; and then we should have a footing in the country, but as it is—if we are taken, my fate will not be a mild one; the best I can expect is to be shot as *émigré rentré*, unless I have the good fortune to be killed in the action; for most assuredly if the enemy will have us, he must fight for us. Perhaps I may be reserved for a trial, for the sake of striking terror into others, in which case, I shall be hanged as a traitor and embowelled, etc. As to the embowelling, ‘*Je m’en fiche*,’ if ever they hang me, they are welcome to embowel me, if they please. These are pleasant prospects!”

“ December 26th.—Last night, at half-past six

o'clock, with a heavy gale of wind still from the east, we were surprised by the admiral's frigate running under our quarter, and hailing the Indomitable with orders to cut our cable and put to sea instantly. The frigate then pursued her course, leaving us all in the utmost astonishment." He then goes on to say, "All our hopes are now reduced to get back in safety to Brest. Well, let me think no more about it. It is lost and let it go. I hope the Directory will not dismiss me the service for this unhappy failure."

This terrible and Nil-desperandum man had a heart, and a warm one. We close our quotations, from his journal with the following beautiful passage:—

"If God Almighty spare me my dearest love and darling babies in safety, I will buy and rent a little spot, and have done with the world for ever. I shall neither be great nor famous, nor powerful, but I may be happy. God knows whether I shall ever reach France myself, and in that case what will become of my family. It is horrible to me to think of it. Oh my life and soul! My darling babies shall I ever see you again. This infernal wind continues, without intermission, and now that all is lost, I am as eager to get back to France as I was to come to Ireland."

Would that those holy thoughts and holy ties of wife and children could have bound his indomitable spirit. But no; he must try again. He does so, and is captured off Loch Swilly, after a hard fight; and marched, with the French prisoners, to Letterkenny. Sir George Hill, who had been his fellow-student at Trinity College, discovered him in the regimentals of a French officer. He was put in irons, carried to

Dublin, tried by court-martial, and sentenced to be hanged. He asked permission to be shot, and was refused.

An exciting and extraordinary scene occurred the next day—the day fixed for his execution—in the Court of King's Bench, where that upright judge Lord Kilwarden,* presided. Curran entered the court leading an aged man—Wolfe Tone's father—up to the bench, where he made an affidavit that his son had been brought before a “bench of officers, calling themselves a court-martial, who had sentenced him to death.”

“I do not pretend,” said Curran, “that Mr. Tone is not guilty of the charges for which he is accused. I presume that the officers were honorable men, but as is stated in this affidavit, as a solemn fact, *that Mr. Tone had no commission under his majesty, and therefore no court-martial could have cognizance of any crime imputed to him, whilst the Court of King's Bench sat in its capacity of the great criminal court of the land.* I sometimes when war was raging, when man was opposed to man in the field, courts-martial might be endured but every law authority is with me, whilst I stand upon this sacred and immutable principle of the constitution, that martial law and civil law are incompatible, and the former must cease with the existence of the latter. This is not, however, the time for arguing this momentous question. My client must appear in this court. He is cast for death this very day. He may be ordered for execution whilst I address you.

* Lord Kilwarden, whose surname was Wolfe, was afterwards killed by the French in Dublin, in mistake for Lord Norbury. A sad mistake for him himself.

the court to support the law, and move for a *habeas corpus*, to be directed to the provost-marshal barracks of Dublin and Major Sandys, to bring the body of Tone.

Chief-Justice Kilwarden, who heard the eloquent plea with breathless attention, commanded that a *habeas corpus* "be instantly prepared."

"My lord," said Curran, "my client may die while it is preparing."

"My Sheriff," said the judge, "proceed to the court, and tell the provost-marshal that a writ is granted, to suspend Mr. Tone's execution, *and see that he is not executed.*"

The court awaits the return of the sheriff in a state of great anxiety. But he speedily appears and says, "My lord, I have been to the barracks in pursuance of the order. The provost-marshal says he must obey Major Sandys, Major Sandys says he must obey Lord Lisburne,—" who was then Lord Lieutenant.

Kilwarden rose, and his passion was actually

"Mr. Sheriff, take the body of Tone into custody, take the provost-marshal into custody, take Major Sandys into custody, and for so doing show the order." The sheriff hastened to the barracks, and speedily returned. He whispers something in the ear of the judge—the whisper soon runs round the court—Lord Lisburne, who knew nothing of the proceedings, stay his execution, *had inflicted a deadly wound on his throat, with a penknife.* He wrote the following beautiful letter to his wife, just before he committed the fearful deed:—

“ PROVOST PRISON, DUBLIN BARRACKS,
10th November, 1798.

“ DEAREST LOVE,

“ The hour is at last come when we must part. As no words can express what I feel for you and our children, I shall not attempt it. Complaint of any kind would be beneath your courage and mine. Be assured I will die as I have lived, and that you will have no cause to blush for me.

“ I have written on your behalf to the French Government, to the Minister of Marine, to General Kilmaine, and to Mr. Shee; with the latter, I wish you especially to advise. In Ireland I have written to your brother Harry, and to those of my friends who are about to go into exile, and who, I am sure, will not abandon you.

“ Adieu, dearest love. I find it impossible to finish this letter. Give my love to Mary; and above all things, remember that you are now the only parent of our dearest children, and that the best proof you can give of your affection for me, will be to preserve yourself for them. God Almighty bless you all.

“ Yours ever,

“ T. W. TONE.”

He writes her afterwards “just one line,” to inform her of some family arrangements, and then finally concludes—“ Adieu, dearest love. Keep your courage as I have kept mine. My mind is as tranquil this moment as at any period of my life. Cherish my memory, and especially preserve your health and spirits for the sake of our dearest children. Your ever affectionate,

“ T. W. TONE.”

He must have seen and heard the soldiers erecting the gallows beneath his windows while penning this letter, in which he says his mind is as tranquil as at any period of his life. He had the power of dying in his own hands. He lived till the 19th, when he began rapidly to sink. Overhearing the surgeon whisper, "If he attempts to move or speak, he will instantly expire,"—"I can find no words to thank you, sir," said he, making an effort to rise. "It is the most welcome news you could give me. What should I wish to live for?" He then fell back, and died without a struggle.

Wolfe Tone very honestly informed General Hoche, when he asked whether he thought the Catholic clergy would join them, "I certainly do not calculate on their assistance, but neither do I think they will be able to give us any effectual opposition. But here he was mistaken. Doctor Francis Moylan, Catholic bishop of Cork, from 1787 to 1803, gave all the illegal associates of these days the most strenuous and effectual opposition. Sir Richard Musgrave says, "The members of the Union in Cork were so desperate and sanguinary, that a proposition was made, and it was for some time discussed in committee, to murder the amiable Doctor Moylan, the titular Bishop of Cork, partly from motives of revenge, on account of his loyalty." The Catholic gentlemen of Cork were as distinguished for their loyalty as the Protestants. On the 4th of June, 1779, an express came to Cork, ordering the 81st Highland regiment to march, at the shortest notice, to Bantry. A fleet of several ships of the line frigates and transports, were seen in Bantry Bay. A

second express arrived, ordering the Highland regiment to march to Bandon. The armed companies were also called out, when "a great number of Roman Catholic gentlemen immediately offered themselves as volunteers to join their Protestant fellow-citizens, and were well received." The French fleet turned out to be English. It raised the alarm by firing salutes for the king's birth-day.

The Rev. Mr. Barry, parish priest of Mallow, and the Rev. Mr. Barry, parish priest of Charleville, were active opponents of all kinds of United Irishmen, and democratic associations. Barry, of Mallow, gave information to government of a plan laid by a regiment to siege the town of Mallow, for which he got a pension of two hundred a-year, and the name of the Protestant priest. The following letter from Lieut-General Lake—which appears among the Cornwallis' correspondence—makes incidental reference to the circumstance, in describing a like affair among the Meath Militia, which occurred soon afterwards. The object of the second attack was to liberate some prisoners of the regiment that were confined for treasonable practices—for treason in those days was as rife in the army* as among the civilians:—

"LIEUT.-GENERAL LAKE TO LIEUT.-COLONEL LITTLEHALES

"Cork, May 7th, 1779.

"MY DEAR COLONEL,

"Knowing how fast reports fly in this country, particularly when they can produce mischief, I think

* *In the army.* It came out on the trial of Peter Shea, of Cork, that he and others had endeavoured to seduce the crew of the Venerable and Ajax men-of-war, stationed in Cork harbour.

it right to inform you that the cause of this express proceeds from some of the Meath Militia. About fourteen of them forced the main guard at Mallow, liberated some prisoners of the regiment that were confined for treasonable practices, amongst whom was one sergeant, and effected their escape with them. Between ourselves, I am apprehensive this may be of some extent in that regiment. However, at present they are all quiet, and will, I trust, be kept so by the precaution taken. A soldier of the regiment has given much information, and I hope much more will soon come out. The Lord deliver us from such troops, and send us better times.

"Believe me ever, with regards, most truly yours,

"G. LAKE."

"Such was the rapidity of the organization," says Sir Richard Musgrave, "that in all the country contiguous to Mallow, Doneraile, and Charleville, the mass of the people was sworn, and all the Protestants were disarmed, in the course of a few nights." He goes on to say, "An immense quantity of pikes were fabricated in Cork. Measures were concerted for taking the magazines, and so sure were the conspirators of succeeding, that poles were prepared, exactly fitted to the socket of a bayonet."

But 1798, as far as this county was concerned, went off without any remarkable outbreak or rebel demonstration. This, at least, is the testimony of the Marquis Cornwallis, who, in writing to the Duke of Portland, says, "There has been an inconsiderable rising between Bandon and Clonakilty, but the rebels were soon routed and dispersed. I have heard that the object [of the

rising] was to rescue some prisoners, which is a practice not unusual in this country."—*Cornwallis' Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 354.

These risings and plots were generally exaggerated. Lord Cornwallis, writing to the Duke of Portland, May 9th, 1801, says, "I received yesterday, at a late hour, your grace's letter, dated the 4th instant, acquainting me that Lord Longueville had been informed of a conspiracy for a general massacre in the barony of Muskerry, and that six of the principal leaders were apprehended. Had the plot, which is said to have been discovered, been of so very serious a nature, it is impossible that I should not have heard of it . . . Your grace will see, from the reports I transmit, how greatly these dangerous plots are heightened by the warmth of the imagination."

Sir Richard Musgrave mentions "Roger Conor, confined in Cork jail," as the chief director, or organizer, of the Union in Cork. It was he who kept open house for the reception of soldiers, and paid the bills of entertainment. It is said "he even supplied the concubines, the more effectually to *seduce* them." We suspect that this Roger was a relative of the far more famous Arthur O'Connor, who surrendered himself on the 3rd of July, 1797, Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Emmet becoming his sureties.

Conway and Swanton, both Cork men, were very actively engaged. Conway was a watchmaker, and one of the Directory of Cork. Both he and his friend Swanton were arrested and sent to Cork jail, where Conway lost his health, and offered the government "useful information" for his liberty.

Lord Castlereagh, writing a "*most secret*" letter to Wickham, says, "I have the honor of enclosing you, for the information of his Grace the Duke of Portland, an abstract of some information received from Mr. Mac Guichen, who is secretly employed of Mr. Conway, who was one of the Directory of Cork, and of James Hughes, who was one of the chiefs of banditti that infested the Wicklow mountains." Mr. Ross, the editor of the Cornwallis' Correspondence, says, "Mr. Conway offered to become a secret agent for detecting the leaders of the conspiracy. The information he gave was very valuable."—*Cornwallis' Correspondence*, vol. iii., p. 85.

Swanton, who lived near Dunmanway, escaped to America, where he became a *judge*. He returned to this county, two or three years ago, no doubt a far wiser man than he left it. Great revolutions always throw clever and, sometimes, good men to the surface of society. Swanton had never been a judge if he had not been a rebel. Lord Cornwallis suspected that Mr. Roche, of Trabolgan, was connected with the French landing, under Humbert, in 1798. Writing to the Duke of Portland, he says, "We have discovered a Mr. Teeling, of Lisburne, among the French prisoners; and, I believe that we shall prove that a *Monsieur La Roche* is a Mr. Roche of Ireland. Monsieur satisfied Mr. Cooke that he was born of English parents in France, but, "after his departure fresh suspicions arose that he was one of the Roches of Trabolgan, county of Cork, and he was ordered to be arrested; but he had previously escaped."—*Cornwallis' Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 405.

The very best men and most distinguished patriots were thought to be more or less leavened with revolutionary opinions. Henry Grattan was not only suspected, but believed, to have been fully compromised, and was, therefore, dismissed the Privy Council. See Cornwallis' Correspondence, vol. ii., pp. 397-8 and 417, which contains the letter informing the Duke of Portland that his dismissal had been "notified in the Gazette."

The apprehension and death of the two brothers, Henry and John Sheares, was deeply felt by the inhabitants of Cork generally. Their father* was a banker in the city, and had represented the borough of Clonakilty in the Irish Parliament. A gentleman in Cork, who remembers the two brothers—Mr. Humphreys, of the Royal Cork Institution—tells me that Henry, the elder, had a wine stain on his face, but that John was a very handsome man. Both brothers had imbibed the principles of the French Republican school. They were in Paris, and present at the execution of Louis XVI. O'Connell met them on his return from St. Omer and Douai, in January 1793, and expressed his "horror"—as he told Mr. James Roche of Cork—"at the language of these unhappy men, in reference to the execution, which they had exultingly witnessed."

John Sheares was fearfully democratic. There cannot be the shadow of a doubt, after reading the following paper, which was found in his possession, and produced on his trial, that he contemplated not only a general

* *Their father*, Mr. Henry Sheares, established a society in Cork, in 1774, for the relief and discharge of persons confined for small debts.

rising, but also a butchering of some and the imprisonment of others. The paper was intended for publication *after* the rising, or *coup d'état*:—

“ Irishmen, your country is free ! All those monsters who usurped its government, to oppress its people, are in our hands, except such as have ——* ”

“ Your country is free, and you are about to be avenged. That vile government, which has so long and so cruelly oppressed you, is no more ; some of its most atrocious monsters have already paid the forfeit of their lives, and the rest are in our hands. The national flag — *the sacred green* — is at this moment flying over the ruins of despotism ; and that capital, which a few hours past witnessed the debauchery, plots and crimes of your tyrants, is now the citadel of triumphant patriotism and virtue. Arise, then, united sons of Ireland ; arise, like a great and powerful people, determined to be free, or to die ; arm yourselves by every means in your power, and rush like lions on your foes. Consider that for every enemy you disarm you arm a friend, and thus become doubly powerful in the cause of liberty ; inaction is cowardice, and the coward shall forfeit the property he has not the courage to protect. Let his arms be seized and transferred to those gallant spirits who want, and will use them. Yes, Irishmen, we swear by that eternal justice, in whose cause you fight, that the brave patriot who survives the present glorious struggle, and the family of him who has fallen, or shall fall hereafter in it, shall receive, from the hands of a grateful nation, an ample

* *Such as have* —— “ been slaughtered ” or “ slain,” would be an appropriate filling of the *carte blanche*.

recompense, out of that property which the crimes of our enemies have forfeited into its hands, and his name shall be inscribed on the national record of Irish revolution, as a glorious example to all posterity; *but we likewise swear to punish robbery with death and infamy.*

“We also swear that we will never sheath the sword until every being in the country is restored to those equal rights which the God of Nature has given to all men; until an order of things shall be established, in which no superiority shall be acknowledged among the citizens of Erin, but that of virtue and talent.

“As for those degenerate wretches who turn their swords against their native country, the national vengeance awaits them; let them find no quarter unless they shall prove their repentance by speedily deserting, exchanging from the standard of slavery for that of freedom, under which their former errors may be buried, and they may share the glory and advantages that are due to the patriot bands of Ireland.

“Many of the military feel the love of glory glow within their breasts, and have joined the national standard; receive with open arms such as shall follow so glorious an example; they can render signal service to the cause of freedom, and shall be rewarded according to their deserts. But for the wretch who turns his sword against his native country, let the national vengeance be visited on him; let him find no quarter.

“Rouse all the energies of your soul; call forth all the merit and abilities which a vicious government consigned to obscurity, and under the conduct of your chosen leaders, march with a steady step to victory;

heed not the glare of a hired soldiery, or *aristocratic yeomanry*; they cannot stand the vigorous shock of freedom. Their trappings and their arms will soon be yours, and the detested government of England, to which we vow eternal hatred, shall learn that the treasures they exhaust on its accoutred slaves, for the purpose of butchering Irishmen, shall but further enable us to turn their swords on its devoted head.

“Attack them in every direction, by day and by night; avail yourselves of the natural advantages of your country, which are innumerable, and *with which you are better acquainted than they*.

“Where you cannot oppose them in full force, constantly harass their rear and their flanks, cut off their provisions and magazines, and prevent them, as much as possible, from uniting their forces: Let whatever moments you cannot devote to fighting for your country, be passed in learning how to fight for it, or preparing the means of war; for war, war alone, must occupy every mind and every hand in Ireland, until its long oppressed soil be purged of all its enemies.

“Vengeance, Irishmen, vengeance on your oppressors—remember what thousands of your dearest friends have perished by their *merciless orders*—remember their burnings, their rackings, their torturings, their military massacres, and their legal murders. Remember ORR.”

The Sheares were betrayed by Captain John Warneford Armstrong,* of the King's County Militia, who visited at their house as a friend, and spoke, with

* Captain John Warneford Armstrong died, in the King's County, about two years ago.

apparent enthusiasm, of the measures or projects of the United Irishmen. It is not improbable that Armstrong communicated with Fitzgibbon, the Lord-Chancellor Clare, for we find him using his best efforts—and we are only too happy to record it of him—to reclaim them before they were fully and publicly compromised. The following, which occurs among the critical and miscellaneous papers of the late Mr. James Roche,* of Cork, will be read with interest:—

“ Before the outbreak of the insurrection in 1798, during the assizes of Limerick, Lord Clare desired to have an interview with the two Sheares, to which my father, in the hope of a pacific result, invited them to his house; but it ended, unfortunately, in more intense exasperation and irritation, as was discernible in the young men’s flushed features and defiant bearing as they parted. Yet the Chancellor’s object was certainly benevolent and conciliatory, but they were intractable. The interview was close and private, still I marked their aspect on leaving the house—inflamed and indignant in every lineament. Possibly overtures repulsive to their feelings may have thus excited them.”

Lord Clare, after this, gave them up, and, it is said, got the infamous Toler—better known as Lord Norbury—appointed as Attorney-General, that he might conduct the prosecution. Sir Jonah Barrington waited on Fitzgibbon, and urged him to save the elder, if it were only for the sake of his wife and children. The

* *Mr. James Roche* was, for many years, a leading banker of Cork; but found time for literary pursuits, as is evinced by his two volumes of “*Critical Essays*,” contributed to the *Dublin Review*, and the *Gentleman’s Magazine*. He was President of the Cork Institution. His death occurred about the 1st of April, 1853. His picture, by Mr. James Brennan, of this city, adorns the walls of the Cork Athenæum.

Chancellor was piqued, and therefore inexorable. But at the last moment a respite was obtained for Henry ; but, alas, it was a few minutes too late. The herald arrived in time to see the gory head in the hands of the executioner, and to hear him exclaim, "This is the head of a traitor."

A very serious affair occurred at Oulart, county Wexford, between the rebels and the North Cork Militia. A hundred and nine picked men, of the North Cork, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Foote, marched out to battle: of which number but two returned to tell of their defeat. "Lieutenant-Colonel Foote and one sergeant, the wretched remains of that fine and valiant body of men, were seen pensively riding over the bridge, and approaching the town." There fell, of officers, on this occasion, Major Lombard, the Honourable Captain de Courcy, (of the Kinsale family) Lieutenants Williams, Ware and Barry, and Ensign Keogh. Lieutenant Ware,* "a young gentleman, just of age, possessed of a good property," and nephew to Lieutenant-Colonel Foote, lost his life by humanely reining in his steed, to raise a wounded boy, belonging to the band, to the saddle behind him. A rebel came up in the nick of time, and pulled him down with the crook of his pike. The commander had the crook of a pike in his pig-tail, but the ribbon broke, leaving the Irishman no more than a lock of his hair.

* *Lieutenant Ware*.—John Ware, the uncle of Sir James Ware, the historian, settled in the county Cork, in the end of the 16th century. The Wares were originally from Yorkshire. They came to Ireland with the Lord Deputy Fitz-William. The descendants of John Ware, live at Woodford, near Mallow, of which Sir James Ware, the historian's father, was member in 1613.

CHAPTER X.

DISFRANCHISEMENT OF COUNTY BOROUGHs—THE IRISH PARLIAMENT—THE SALE OF IRISH BOROUGHs— THE LEGISLATIVE UNION.

A.D. 1800.

THERE were seven borough towns in this county disfranchised by the legislative union, namely, Doneraile, Charleville, Middleton, Castlemartyr, Clonakilty, Baltimore and Rathcormac; and four which lost a member each, namely, Youghal, Kinsale, Mallow, and Bandon. The county Cork lost eighteen representatives by the union. But we are by no means disposed to conclude—without offering any opinion on the vexed question of self-government—that the removal of these borough members was a loss. To the Irish parliament their removal would have been a positive relief. The members of the counties and large towns were swamped by these borough members, who were almost invariably the nominees and tools of the noblemen who owned the boroughs.

On some rare occasions we see one of these boroughs assuming an independent aspect. Youghal presented such an example in 1768:—

“April 12th.—This day Richard Tonson was ushered into the town of Youghal, by a great number of

the free and independent voters, with colours flying, guns firing, music, and every other demonstration of joy, for his timely assistance in the support of freedom and independence in their corporation. On the following day, at a dinner which was given, the toasts were expressive of exultation at their deliverance from the domineering influence of some private proprietor."

There never was a more corrupt assembly than the three hundred men who sat in College Green, and who proved their corruption by voting away, at the bidding of their patrons, the legislative prerogatives of their country. The Irish *parliament* of 1782 may be styled independent, but this cannot be said of the members, who were nominated by the aristocracy. The *House* had been swept and garnished, but the inmates were unwashed.

Henry Grattan saw this, and calls it a "borough parliament." Speaking of the act of Independence, he says, "It gave the country a new political situation, wherein she ceased to be a province, and became a nation; and of course rendered those borough parliaments, that were adequate to the management of a province,"—to the management of Ireland when a province—"absurd and inapplicable when that province became a nation." He speaks of those who would retain the credit of reformers, while they cleave to the borough representation—who are willing to "let the people sit in the House of Commons, provided the aristocrats sat in their lap."

We learn from a Report of Commissioners on Irish corporations, previous to the passing of the reform bill, that there were forty-five corporate towns in Ire-

land previous to the reign of James I. They were Ardee, Ardfert and Athboy, Athenry, Bannow, Callan, Carlingford, Carlow, Carrickfergus, Cashel, Clonmel, Cork, Dingle, Donegal, Drogheda, Dublin, Duleek, Dundalk, Dungarvan, Fethard, (county of Tipperary), Fore, Galway, Gowran, Inistiogue, Irishtown, Kells, Kildare, Kilkenny, Kilmallock, Kinsale, Knocktopher, Limerick, Maryborough, Naas, Navan, New Ross, Old Leighlin, Philipstown, Roscommon, Taghmon, Thomastown, Trim, Waterford, Wexford, and Youghal.

The number of Irish towns invested with the corporate rights of sending members to the Irish parliament, during the two succeeding reigns, were sixty-one — Agher, Armagh, Askeaton, Athlone, Athy, Ballinakill, Ballyshannon, Baltimore, Bandon-bridge, Bangor, Belfast, Belturbet, Boyle, Carrick-on-Shannon, Castlebar, Cavan, Carlemont, Clogher, Clonakilty, Coleraine, Dungannon, Ennis, Enniscorthy, Enniskillen, Fethard, (county of Wexford), Gorey, Hillsborough, Johnstown, Kilbeggan, Killileagh, Killybegs, Lifford, Lismore, Londonderry, Limavaddy, Mallow, Monaghan, Newry, Newtownards, Sligo, St. Johnstown, (county of Donegal), Strabane, Tallow, Tralee, Tuam, Wicklow. By Charles I., Banagher; by Charles II., Baltinglass, Blessington, Carysfort, Castlemartyr, Charleville, Dunleer, Granard, Harristown, Lanesborough, Longford, Middleton, Portarlinton, St. Johnstown, Tulstre, were invested with this privilege.

Some of these boroughs were erected by Mary and Elizabeth. James I. created forty. When the lords of the pale remonstrated, he replied, "What is it to you whether I make many or few. What if I created

forty noblemen and four hundred boroughs; the more the merrier, the fewer the better cheer."

Some of the counties and large towns were not of this opinion, and therefore voted for the extinction of the assembly.

"April 23rd, 1800.—At a meeting of the city grand jury, held during the Spring Assizes, in the city grand jury room, it was resolved unanimously:—'That the sentiment of the city of Cork in favour of a legislative union with Great Britain, has already been expressed in the most decided and unequivocal manner, and that the ineffectual efforts which have been made to represent this city as entertaining a contrary sentiment, afford us the most decisive evidence that the great majority of our fellow-citizens, in point of wealth, loyalty, and steady attachment to the constitution, still continue to approve of the measure.'

"This resolution was signed by the mayor, Philip Allen, the sheriffs, Henry Hickman and William Lane, and also by the common speaker, John G. Newsom, in testimony of their approbation. There were, of course, numbers on both sides. Messrs. Jeffereys and Penrose went to London to present a petition to his majesty, signed by a number of freemen and others, in reprobation of the measure."

Lord Castlereagh, writing to Wickam, and speaking of the opposition in Dublin, says, "there is every reason to hope that a different sentiment prevails at Cork. The Protestants and Catholics of that city, who seldom agree on any point, are both alive to the great commercial benefits they would derive from it." The letter is dated Phoenix Park, Nov. 23, 1798.

Lord Cornwallis, who did more for the promotion of the measure than any other British statesman, and who tried from the first to lay its foundation on a wide and liberal basis, says, in writing to the Duke of Portland, "I have reason to hope that the inhabitants of Munster, and particularly the citizens of Cork, are partial to the measure."—*Cornwallis' Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 454.

As I give this high-minded nobleman the principal credit of carrying this most unpopular measure, it is only fair the reader should know the kind of union he wished to establish between the two nations. "I have no great doubt of being able to carry the measure here, but I have great apprehensions of the efficiency of it after it is carried; and I do not think it would have been much more difficult to have included the Catholics." Again, "I certainly wish that England would now make a union *with the Irish NATION, instead of making it with a PARTY in Ireland*. It has always appeared to me a desperate measure for the English government, to make an irrevocable alliance with a small party in Ireland."—*Cornwallis' Correspondence*, vol. ii., pp. 418, 420, 443.

In the same letter to the Duke of Portland, he says, "As your Grace may wish to be informed of the particular sentiments of the most leading characters, I think it necessary to mention that Lord Shannon, to whom I first addressed myself, is impressed in the strongest manner with the difficulties and disadvantages of the present system, and is disposed to entertain the measure favorably."

Again, "After the distinguished part Lord Shannon

has taken throughout the whole of this transaction, it is scarcely necessary to assure your Grace that nothing was omitted in Cork, where his lordship's influence is so deservedly extensive, which could serve the cause; and I am not less bound to acknowledge the very forward part Lord Boyle has taken on this occasion."

Lord Boyle was the son of Lord Shannon, whom he succeeded in the earldom, May 20th, 1807. He was member of the Irish Parliament for Clonakilty, from June 1793 to 1797, and the county of Cork till January 1807. He died April 22nd, 1842.

It was from Lord Shannon's residence, in Castlemartyr, that the marquis wrote the following letter to the Protestant Archbishop of Cashel:—

" Castlemartyr, Aug. 22nd, 1799.

" MY DEAR LORD,

" I find that our friends in the county of Tipperary are decidedly of opinion that a county meeting should be called, and are under no apprehension about the success of the measure, I have, therefore, only to request that your Grace will allow your respectable name to be subscribed to the requisition.

" I have the honor to be, &c.,

" CORNWALLIS."

The archbishop replies with all alacrity, " At a quarter past nine o'clock this night, after the High Sheriff's messenger had taken my answer, I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's letter from Castlemartyr, in consequence of which I have written a second letter, to the High Sheriff, of which I take the

liberty of enclosing a copy, being numbered two, and written on the same sheet of paper as the copy of my first answer. This second letter I shall send to the High Sheriff very early to-morrow morning.

“I have, &c.,

“C. CASHELL.”

The archbishop adds in a postscript, “The dragoon who brought your excellency’s letter will set out from hence early to-morrow morning.” The archbishop had first refused to sign the requisition.

Lord Cornwallis shews his gratitude by recommending the archbishop for the primacy. “If the king should think proper to give the primacy in the line of Irish bishops, I do not think that he can, without much inconvenience, pass over the claims of the Archbishop of Cashel, nor do I know any other candidate whose merits would justify such a supercession. But should his majesty, on the contrary, select one of the English bishops, from the Irish bench, for that high station—according to the practice which has obtained for many years—I should conceive that the Bishop of Ferns would be the properest for his choice, and that no man would fill that high office with more respectability.”

The bishop referred to was Euseby Clever, who was consecrated bishop of Cork in March, 1789, and translated to Ferns in June of the same year, and made Archbishop of Dublin in 1809.

Lord Cornwallis did more, or at least as much, to carry the union, by the erection or promotion of peers, as by money. The applications made for lordly honors

were numerous, and on some occasions rather bare-faced or blunt.

"Lord Inchiquin wrote to me early in the business [of the Union] to ask to be made a marquis, but his lordship has no Irish influence to support his request; if, however, your Grace [the letter is addressed to the Duke of Portland] should wish to add his name to the four mentioned in my paper, I shall have no objection. In the proposed creation of earls I have to observe, that as the late Lord O'Neill and Lord Bandon were on the point of being promoted, in Lord Camden's administration, when the rebellion broke out, and the former lost his life, I recommend that they should be created *a few days before the others*, to give them the precedence."

According to these recommendations, Murrough O'Brien, fifth earl of Inchiquin, was created Marquis of Thomond,* December 29, 1800;† and Francis Bernard, who had been raised to the peerage as Lord Bandon, Nov. 30, 1793, was created Earl of Bandon, August 6, 1800.

In the "List of Persons recommended to His Majesty for the dignity of the Peerage in Ireland," we find the name of William Hare, Esq., of Cork. "William Hare, Esq., and his son, have constantly supported the Union, and given a regular attendance, [in the Irish parliament]. Mr. Hare's property is said to exceed £12,000 a year in the counties of Cork and Kerry."

* *The Marquis Thomond* was created an English peer, October 2, 1801. He was succeeded in 1808 by his nephew, William. William was succeeded by his brother James, the third and last marquis, August 21, 1846.

† December 29, 1800. There were seventeen promotions in the Irish peerage made this day.

William Hare was created Lord Ennismore, July 30, 1800, and Earl of Listowel, January 12, 1822. "Both father and son sat for Athy at the time of the Union. They bought their seats of the Duke of Leinster, and voted in opposition to his wishes."—*Correspondence*, vol. iii.

The following is the letter in which Lord Bantry is recommended for the dignity of viscount:—

"MARQUIS CORNWALLIS to the DUKE OF PORTLAND.

(*Private.*)

"*Ilanc Castle, Aug. 17, 1800.*

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I have hitherto omitted to mention to your grace, that I promised Lord Longueville to move his majesty to confer upon Lord Bantry the dignity of a viscount. Your grace is too well acquainted with the strong parliamentary interest which Lord Longueville* possesses, and of his support of the measure of the Union, to render anything further on my part necessary in urging a compliance with his request.

"I have, &c.,

"CORNWALLIS."

Richard White, Earl of Bantry, was elevated to the peerage in 1797, in consequence of his service to the state on the occasion of the arrival of the French at Bantry Bay; and to the dignity of viscount, Dec. 29, 1800, on which occasion his son-in-law, Lord Longueville, was raised to the like dignity. The title died with Lord Longueville in 1811.

* Lord Longueville, in one of his querulous letters, claims Cork and Mallow, and six other seats as his own.—See *Cornwallis' Correspondence*, v. iii., pp. 289-324.

Richard Longfield was created Lord Longueville in Oct., 1795. The Longfields, or Longchamps, came to England with the Conqueror, and to Ireland at a very early period. William, the grand-uncle of the first lord, lost estates, now valued at £30,000 a year, by adhering to James II. He procured a grant of £3,000 on William's accession. His younger brother, John Longfield, was a Williamite, and more fortunate; he settled in the county of Cork, and was employed as a Collector at Mallow. Lord Longueville married Margaret, the only daughter of Richard White, of Bantry, hence his zeal in getting his father-in-law raised to the dignity of a viscount.

The compensation money paid for disfranchising and decreasing the representation in Irish boroughs amounted to £1,260,000. "Paid by the people," said Grattan, "for getting themselves turned out of parliament." The expression is more epigrammatic than true. It was not the people but the nominees of the noblemen, that were turned out. This was well understood, and it was the noble patrons of these boroughs that got the money. The price given for each borough was £15,000. Now as Cork had seven boroughs disfranchised, namely, Charleville, Middleton, Baltimore, Clonakilty, Castlemartyr, Doneraile, and Rathcormac, the noble patrons must have pocketed—deducting the small sums they may have given their nominees, £105,000. Lords Cork and Shannon, who were joint patrons of Charleville, received £7,500 for this small borough. Lord Shannon had more or less influence in four boroughs in this county, which were worth £60,000. Mr. Hare, afterwards Lord Ennismore,

who was nominee of the Duke of Leinster, for Athy, got £1200, the duke taking the lion's share of the £15,000, that is £13,800.

But some of the members made private bargains for themselves. Among this number was the famous Sir Boyle Roche, baronet, whom we claim as a county Cork man—the very *Barney Sheehan* of the Irish parliament. Sir Boyle Roche was created a baronet in 1782. Whether it was for voting against, or for Irish independence, we cannot say.* He was member for Tralee, Gowran, Portarlinton, and Old-Leighlin. He was as celebrated for bulls as Lord Norbury for puns, or Curran for wit and ready repartee. On the introduction of a bill into the Irish parliament for the better regulation of weights and measures, he moved in committee that “every quart bottle should hold a quart.” On another occasion he delivered himself thus:—“It would be better, Mr. Speaker, to give up not only a part, but, if necessary, even the *whole* of the constitution, to preserve the remainder.” Speaking of an invasion from France, he styles the *Marseillaise* the *Marshal-law-men*, and adds, they will cut us to mince-meat, and throw our bleeding heads on that table, to stare us in the face.” But with all his blunders, he possessed a large share of shrewdness, and his absurdities have often quelled the storm of political debate which the eloquence of Grattan had lashed into fury, he therefore felt that the state was his debtor.

We did not expect to find Sir Boyle Roche, any more than his bird—although the animal is ubiquitous

* *Cannot say.* Sir Boyle Roche was the messenger employed by Lord Kenmare, in 1783, to say that the Catholics were satisfied with what had been done for them, which turned out to be false.

—among the leaves of the Cornwallis Correspondence, but here we find him trying to pick up something for himself. He voted for the Union, and is now looking for his compensation:—

“SIR BOYLE ROCHE to LIEUT.-COLONEL LITTLEHALES.

“*London, Thayer St., near Manchester Square,*

“*May y^e 12th, 1801.*

“DEAR SIR,

“I was surprised exceedingly to be informed, that Mr. Gerald Aylmer was put into the patent with me as Inspector of the river Kenmare, which has been a great disappointment to me, as Mr. W. A. Crosbie and I had come to an agreement about the exchange of our places, and he was certain that he had interest enough with Lord Hardwicke to effect it, which would have been very convenient for both, as he, who desires to live in England, would have been accommodated with a sinecure place, and I, who intend to be a resident in Dublin, should be very happy in his situation of a Commissioner of Stamps.

“I have now been an officer in the revenue for upwards of twenty-five years, and am entitled, by the revenue laws, to retire upon my emoluments. My salary was three hundreds a-year, which I received quarterly.

“I had a deputy give me at sixty pounds a-year, which entirely excused me from any attendance. My deputy was obliged to share all captures with me, the value of which were at times considerable, all which I am willing to compromise for four hundred a-year upon the incidents of the revenue; and in doing this, I shall be rather a loser than a gainer.

"If the Lord Lieutenant can do this before his departure, he would add to the obligations he has already conferred upon me.

"I request you, with your usual goodness to me, to lay this letter before his excellency.

"I am, dear sir,

"Ever affectionately yours,

"B. ROCHE."

Littlehales, in a pencil note to Marsden, replies—"I have informed Sir Boyle I could not interfere in this matter." A pension of three hundred pounds a-year was conferred jointly on him and his lady—besides his separate pension of two hundred pounds a-year, about eight days after he wrote the above letter. Sir Boyle Roche made no blunder here.

Lest we should conclude from the revelations of the Cornwallis' Correspondence, that our grandfathers were much more corrupt than our fathers, or ourselves, we would point the reader to the correspondence of the incorruptible Arthur, Duke of Wellington, who, when Irish secretary, did "dirty his fingers with so vile a job," as buying a borough, although he had over and over again refused (as he says at a later period) to become the proprietor of a borough. This correspondence displays no scruples about bribery and corruption. He found it the established machinery of his office, and he worked the machinery with his usual energy. He had eaten the king's salt, and what the government of the king expected of him, that it was his duty to do. He bought boroughs, he sold peerages, he jobbed his patronage, with a vigor and discrimination truly won-

erful He writes to his brother Henry to ask the selling price of a borough ; he announces "Pennefather has promised me the refusal of Cashel, but he has not yet stated his price." He obtains Cashel, and we find that Pennefather is authorised to draw £5000 upon Drummonds. He writes to London to know who is to be nominated for that borough, and is told that it is to be kept for a Mr. Peel. He orders the borough to be kept for this gentleman, whose name, in full, he will send by a subsequent post ; and in the subsequent post he announces that the name of the gentleman is Robert Peel, Esq., of Drayton Bassett, in the county of Stafford. The correspondence is full of such bargains. In one case it is proposed to barter a borough for a bishopric.

MEMBERS SENT TO THE IRISH PARLIAMENT BY THE
CONSTITUENCIES OF THE COUNTY OF CORK.

COUNTY OF CORK.

- 1585, April. Sir John Norreys, knt. William Cogan, Esq. John Fitzgerald, Esq., of Cloyne.
- 1613, April 19th. Dermot M'Carthy, Esq., of Lohort. Andrew Barrett, Esq., of Ballincollig.
- 1634, June 23rd. Sir William St. Leger, knt., of Doneraile. Sir Donagh M'Carthy, knt.
- 1639, March 2nd. Sir William St. Leger, knt., of Doneraile. Sir Donagh M'Carthy, knt. Redmond Roche, of Cahirduggan, expelled the 22nd of June, 1642, for the rebellion.
- 1661, April 25th. Hon. Richard Boyle. Sir Henry Tynte, knt., of Roxhall.
- 1661, June 2nd. Sir John Perceval, bart., of Burton, vice Tynte, deceased.

- 1665, Dec. 7th. Roger Lord Broghill, vice Boyle, deceased. John St. Leger, Esq., of Doneraile, vice Perceval, deceased.
- 1692, Sept. 19th. Hon. Henry Boyle. Sir St. John Brodrick, knt., of Midleton.
- 1695, Aug. 6th. Sir St. John Brodrick, knt., of Midleton. Thomas Brodrick, Esq., of Wandsworth, Surrey.
- 1703, Aug. 28th. Sir John Perceval, bart., of Burton. Thomas Brodrick, Esq., of Midleton.
- 1713, Oct. 31st. Sir John Perceval, bart., of Burton. Alan Brodrick, Esq., of Midleton.
- 1715, Oct. 20th. Hon. St. John Brodrick, knt., of Midleton. Henry Boyle, Esq., of Castlemartyr.
- 1727, Oct. 26th. Hon. St. John Brodrick. Henry Boyle, Esq., of Castlemartyr.
- 1728, March 30th. Sir Matthew Deane, bart., of Dromore, vice Brodrick, deceased.
- 1747, Oct. 28th. Arthur Hyde, Esq., of Castle Hyde, vice Deane, deceased.
- 1756, May 17th. Charles Viscount Dungarvan, vice Boyle, created Earl of Shannon.
- 1759, Nov. 6th. Richard Townsend, Esq., of Castletownsend, vice Lord Dungarvan, deceased.
- 1761, April 25th. Richard, Viscount Boyle, Castlemartyr. Richard Townsend, Esq., of Castletownsend.
- 1765, Nov. 11th. Hon. John Lysaght, Mount North, vice Boyle, Earl of Shannon.
- 1768, July 21st. Richard Townsend, Esq., of Castletownsend. John Hyde, Esq., of Castlehyde.
1776. Sir R. T. Meade.

- 1782. James Bernard, Esq.
- 1783. Lord Kingsborough.
- 1791. Abraham Morris, Esq.
- 1797. Viscount Boyle.
- 1798. R. U. Fitzgerald, Esq.

CITY OF CORK.

- 1559, Jan. J. Miagh (Meade) Esq. Stephen Coppinger, Esq.
- 1585, April. John Miagh, Esq. Thos. Sarsfield, Esq.
- 1613, April 30th. Edmund Terry, alderman of Cork. David Terry, alderman of Cork.
- 1634, July. Dominick Coppinger, gent., of Cork. Sir Wm. Sarsfield, knt., of Sarsfield Court.
- 1639, March. Sir Andrew Barrett, knt., of Castlemore, Inniscarra. Dominick Roche, alderman of Cork.
- 1661, April 30th. Peter Courthorpe, Esq., knt., of Courtstown. Richard Kyrle, Esq., (knt.) of Dromaneear.
- 1692, Sept. 12th. Alan Brodrick, Esq., of Midleton. Robert Rogers, of Ashgrove, alderman of Cork.
- 1695, Augt. 2nd. Alan Brodrick, Esq., of Midleton. Robt. Rogers, alderman of Cork.
- 1703, Sept. 1st. Hon. Thomas Erle. Alan Brodrick of Midleton.
- 1710, May 25th. Edward Hoare, Esq., of Duncathal, vice Brodrick, appointed Chief Justice, Q.B.
- 1713, Oct. 26th. St. John Brodrick, Esq., of the Middle Temple. Edw. Hoare, Esq., of Duncathal.
- 1715, Oct. 17th. Edw. Hoare, Esq., of Duncathal. Edmond Knapp, Esq., alderman of Cork.

- 1727, Sept. 25th. Hugh Dixon, Esq., of Ballybricken.
Edw. Webber, Esq., of Cork.
- 1731, Oct. 25th. Jonas Morris, Esq., of Cork, vice
Webber, deceased.
- 1735, Oct. 20th. Emanuel Piggott, Esq., of Chetwyn,
vice Morris, deceased.
- 1739, Oct. 29th. Sir Matthew Deane, bart., of Dro-
more, vice Dixon, deceased.
- 1751, Oct. 28th. Thos. Newenham, Esq., of Coolmore,
vice Deane, deceased.
- 1761, April 28th. John Hely Hutchinson, Esq., of
Knocklofty, Tipperary. Sir John Freke, bart.,
of Castle Freke.
- 1764, April 28th. William Brabazon Ponsonby, Esq.,
vice Freke, deceased.
- 1768, July 8th. John Hely Hutchinson, Esq., of Pal-
merston, Dublin. Wm. Brabazon Ponsonby, Esq.
- 1776, Richard Longfield, Esq.
- 1784, Augustus Warren, Esq.
- 1790, Hon. J. H. Hutchinson.
- 1791, Rt. Hon. R. Longfield.
- 1796, W. Hare, Esq.
- 1797, Mountiford Longfield, Esq.

YOUGHAL.

- 1559, Jan. John Walch, Esq. John Portyngall, of
Youghal.
- 1585, April. Thomas Coppinger, Esq. James Collen,
Esq. Francis Annias,* Esq.
- 1613, April 26th. Edmund Coppinger, alderman of
Youghal. John Forrest, alderman of Youghal.

* *Francis Annias.* Could this be any relative of the famous John Annias, the
poisoner, who was hanged 9th Nov. 1602? Vol. i. p. 346. ..

- 1634, June 24th. Edward Gough, alderman of Youghal. Theobald Ronayne, alderman of Youghal.
- 1639, Feb. 26th. Edward Gough, alderman. Theobald Ronayne, alderman.
- 1661, April 1st. Sir Boyle Maynard, bart., of Curriglass. Owen Silver, gent.
- 1692, Sept. 19th. Hon. Henry Boyle, of Castlemartyr. Robert Fitzgerald, Esq., of Cork-Beg.
- 1695, Aug. 10th. Hon. Henry Boyle. Robert Fitzgerald.
- 1703, Sept. 2nd. Henry Luther, Esq., of Ballyboy, King's County. John Hayman, merchant of Youghal.
- 1713, Nov. 4th. Boyle Smyth, Esq., of Ballynatray, Waterford. Henry Luther, Esq.
- 1715, Nov. 12th. Lieut.-Gen. Francis Palmes, Dublin. Arthur Hyde, Esq., of Castlehyde.
- 1719, July 20th. Henry Rugg, Esq., of Ballydaniel, vice Palmes, deceased.
- 1721, Oct. 9th. Arthur Hyde, Esq., of Castle Hyde, vice Hyde, deceased.
- 1727, Oct. 10th. James Tynte, Esq., of Old Bawn, Dublin, and of Dunlavan, Wicklow. Hon. James O'Brien, of Dublin.
- 1758, April 25th. Arthur Hyde, jun., Esq., of Castle Hyde, vice Tynte, deceased.
- 1761, April 16th. Sir John Conway Colthurst, bart., of Ardrum. Bellingham Boyle, Esq., of Glinfield.
- 1768, June 30th. James Dennis, Esq., of Dublin. Hon. Joseph Lysaght, of Cork.
- 1776, James Uniacke, Esq.

1777, Robert Uniacke, Esq.

1787, John Keane, Esq.

KINSALE.

1559, Jan. — Sir John Allen, knt., of Alincourt, Kildare. Francis Agard, Esq., of Grange Gorman, Dublin, and of Fawston, Staffordshire.

1585, April. James Galwey, Esq., of Kinsale. Philip Roche, Esq., of Kinsale.

1613, April 21st. James Roche Fitz-Philip, of Kinsale, Dominick Roche, Fitz-Richard gent. of Kinsale.

1634, June 13. Wm. Gallwey, Esq., of Kinsale. James Roche, Esq., of Kinsale.

1639, Feb. Patrick Roche Fitz-Richard, of Kinsale. Philip Roche Fitz-Richard, Esq., of Kinsale.

1661, April 11th. St. John Broderick, Esq., of Ballyannanane. Randolph Clayton, Esq., of Short Castle, Mallow.

1692, Jonas Stawell, of Kilkearns. Edward Southwell, Esq., of Kinsale and of Kingsweston, Gloucester.

1695, Aug. 15. Edward Southwell, Esq., of Kingsweston, Gloucester. James Waller, Esq.

1703, Sept. 2nd. Hon. Henry Hawley, of Kinsale. William Southwell, Esq.

1713, Oct. 26th. Edward Southwell, Esq., of Kingsweston, Gloucester. Hon. Henry Hawley, of Kinsale.

1725, Sept. 30th. Antony Stawell, Esq., of Kinsale, vice Hawley, deceased.

1725, Sept. 30th. Sir Richard Meade, bart, of Ballintober, vice Stawell, miselected.

- 1727, Oct. 4th. Edw. Southwell, Esq., of Kingsweston, Gloucester. Sir Richard Meade, bart.
1731, Oct. 22nd. Brigadier-General Gervais Parker, of Dublin, vice Southwell, deceased.
1731, Oct. 22nd. Richard Ponsonby, Esq., of Crotto, Kerry, vice Parker, miselected.
1745, Oct. 22nd. Jonas Stawell, Esq., of Kinsale, vice Meade, deceased
1761, April 20th. J. Folliott, Esq., of Kinsale. Edw. Southwell, Esq. of Kingsweston, Gloucester.
1765, Nov. 16th. Agmondisham Vesey, Esq., of Lucan, Dublin, vice Folliott, deceased.
1768, July 5th. A. Vesey, Esq., of Lucan, Dublin. James Kearney, Esq., of Garretstown.
1783, Cromwell Price, Esq.
1790, William Crowley, Esq.
1797, Samuel C. Rowley, Esq.

BANDON, INCORPORATED MARCH 30TH, 1613.

- 1613, April 17th. Sir Richard Morrison, knt. Wm. Crowe, Esq., of Crowesnest, near Dublin.
1634, June 17th. Sir George Wentworth, knt. Wm. Wiseman, Esq., of Bandon and Kelbegg.
1639, Feb. 24th. Sir Francis Slingsby, knt., Kilmore. Anthony Doppinge, Esq., of Dublin.
1661, April 4th. Robert Georges, L.L.D., of Kilbrew, Meath. John Read, Esq., of Coolereelong.
1692, Sept. 19th. Sir William Moore, bart., of Ross-carbery. Edward Riggs, Esq., of Riggsdale.
1695, Aug. 1st. Edwd. Riggs, Esq. Francis Bernard, Esq., of Castle Mahon.

- 1703, Sept. 2nd. Francis Bernard, Esq., of Castle Mahon. Richard Georges, Esq., of Kilbrew, Meath.
- 1713, October 29th. Francis Bernard, Esq., of Castle Mahon. Martin Bladen, Esq., of Albury Hatch, Essex.
- 1727, October 23rd. George Freke, Esq. Stephen Bernard, Esq., of Castle Mahon.
- 1731, Oct. 21st. Bellingham Boyle, Esq., of Glinfield, Rathfarnham, Dublin, vice Freke, deceased.
- 1761, April 23rd. William Conner, Esq. Thomas Adderley, Esq., of Innishannon.
- 1766, Feb. 14th. Francis Bernard, Esq., of Castle Bernard, vice Conner, deceased.
- 1768, July 2nd. Francis Bernard, Esq., of Castle Bernard, vice Conner, deceased. Thomas Adderley, Esq., of Innishannon.
- 1775, W. B. Ponsonby, Esq. Lodge Morris, Esq.
- 1790, B. Chinnery, Esq.
- 1797, Hon. W. O'Callaghan.

MALLOW, INCORPORATED FEBRUARY 27TH, 1612.

- 1613, May 1st. Sam. Molyneux, Esq., of Louthstown, Kildare. Sir James Ware, knt., of Macestown.
- 1634, June. William Kingsmill, Esq., of Ballyowen. Thomas Bettesworth, Esq.
- 1634, Jan. Sir Thomas Wenman, knt., of Ballintogher, Sligo. Donogh O'Brien, Esq., of Dough Clare.
- 1639, March 2nd. William Kingsmill, Esq., of Ballyowen. Thomas Beckett, Esq.
- 1641, May. Joshua Boyle, Esq., of Castle Lyons, vice Kingsmill, past hope of recovery.

- 1661, April 25th. Heyward St. Leger, Esq., of Castle-
more. Thomas Pooley, Esq., of Dublin.
- 1692, Sept. John Jephson, Esq., of Mallow.
- 1695, Aug. William Jephson, Esq., of Mallow. Lau-
rence Clayton, Esq. of Mallow.
- 1703, Aug. 31. Laurence Clayton, Esq., of Mallow.
Bartholomew Purdon, Esq., of Ballyclough.
- 1713, Nov. 6th. William Jephson, Esq., of Mallow.
Anthony Jephson, Esq., Mallow.
- 1715, Oct. 13th. William Jephson, Esq., of Mallow.
Anthony Jephson, Esq., of Mallow.
- 1716, June 7th. William Brodrick, Esq., vice Wm.
Jephson, deceased.
- 1727, Nov. 13th. Anthony Jephson, Esq., of Mallow.
- 1753, Oct. 9th. Courthorpe Clayton, Esq., of Anabell.
- 1756, Jan. 13th. Denham Jephson, Esq., of Mallow,
vice Jephson, deceased
- 1761, April 16th. Denham Jephson, Esq., of Mallow.
William Jephson, Esq., of Mallow.
- 1768, July 6th. Denham Jephson, Esq., of Mallow.
Denham Jephson, Esq., Mallow.
- 1783, Sir James Laurence Cotter, bart.
- 1790, J. Longfield, Esq.

CHARLEVILLE, INCORPORATED MAY 29TH, 1671.

- 1692, Sept. 19th. George Crofts, Esq., of Churchtown,
expelled the 11th of October, for his services to
King James. Henry Bowerman, jun., Esq.
- 1695, Aug. 13th. Hon. Charles Boyle. Jas. Ormsby,
Esq., of Athlaccagh, Limerick.
- 1703, Sept. 1. George Evans, Esq., of Ballyvenoghe.
Robert Fitzgerald, Castle Dod.

- 1713, Nov. 2nd. Sir Matthew Deane, bart., of Dro-more. Bretridge Badham, Esq., of Ballyheen.
- 1715, Oct 27th. Colonel George Evans, of Carassby. Limerick. Captain Wm. Boyle, Castlemartyr.
- 1721, Oct. 5th. Henry Purdon, Esq., vice Evans.
- 1725, Oct. 30th. Hon. James O'Brien, of Dublin, vice Boyle, deceased.
- 1727, Oct. 14th. Pryce Hartstongue, Esq., of Bruff, Limerick. John Lysaght, Esq., Mount North.
- 1743, March 12th. Edward Barry, Esq., M.D., Dublin, vice Hartstongue, deceased.
- 1759, Nov. 14th. Hamilton, Viscount Dungarvan, vice Lysaght, created Lord Lisle.
- 1761, April 24th. Robert Barry, Esq., of Dalkey, Dublin. Richard Longfield, Esq., Castle Mary.
- 1768, July 12. Hon James Lysaght, of Mount North. Robert Barry, Esq., of Dalkey, Dublin.
1776. Richard Cox, Esq. Thomas Warren, Esq.
- 1783, Rogerson Cotter, Esq.
- 1790, Sir J. Blaquiere.
- 1797, Hon. C. H. Boyle.

MIDLETON, INCORPORATED JANUARY 2ND, 1670.

- 1692, Sept. 22. Thomas Brodrick, Esq., of Midleton. George Rogers, Esq., of Ballyknavin, Tipperary.
- 1692, Oct. 22. Henry Petty, Esq., of High Wycombe, Bucks, vice Rogers, returned for Lismore.
- 1695, Aug. 7. Sir Francis Brewster, Knt, of Dublin. St. John Brodrick, Esq., Wandsworth, Surrey.
- Sept. 20. Charles Oliver, Esq., of Clonodfoy, Limerick, vice Brodrick, excused by reason of sickness.

- 1703, Sept. 9. St. John Brodrick, Esq., of Wandsworth, Surrey. Robert Foulke, Esq., of Curraghnenensy.
- 1707, July 7. Henry Boyle, Esq., of Castlemartyr, vice Brodrick, deceased.
- 1713, Nov. 2. Arthur Hyde, Esq. Jephson Busteed, Esq.
- 1715, Oct. 28. Thomas Brodrick, Esq., of Wandsworth, Surrey. Edward Corker, Esq., of Mucktown, Dublin.
- 1727, Nov. 2. Richard Bettesworth, Esq., of Dublin. Eaton Stannard, Esq., of Tubber, Dublin.
- 1741, Oct. 19. William Annesley, Esq., of Dublin, and of Castlewellan, Down, vice Bettesworth, deceased.
- 1755, Oct. 30. Hon. James Hamilton, (Visct. Limerick,) Dundalk, Louth, vice Stannard, deceased.
- 1758, April 21. James St. John Jeffreyes, Esq., of Blarney, vice Hamilton, become Earl of Clanbrassill.
- 1759, Oct. 26. Francis Andrews, LL.D., of Dublin, vice Annesley, created Lord Annesley.
- 1761, April 14. Thomas Brodrick, Esq. James St. John Jeffreyes, Esq., of Blarney.
- 1768, July 2. Jas. St. John Jeffreyes, Esq., of Blarney. Edward Brodrick, Esq.
- 1776, Henry Brodrick, Esq.
- 1783, Thomas Pigott, Esq. Arthur Dawson, Esq.
- 1794, B. B. Woodward, Esq.
- 1797, R. Harding, Esq.
- 1799, Major-General J. F. Craddock.

BALTIMORE, INCORPORATED MARCH 25TH, 1613.

- 1613, April 20. Sir Thomas Crooke, knt., of Baltimore.
Henry Pierce, Esq., of Dublin.
- 1634, June 1. Lott Peere, Esq. Edward Skipwith, Esq.
Dec. James Travers, Esq., vice Peere, absent
in England on special occasions.
- 1639, Feb. 24. Bryan Jones, Esq. Henry Knyveton,
Esq.
- 1661, April 10. Sir Nicholas Purdon, knt., of Bally-
clough. Richard Townsend, Esq., of Castle
Townsend.
- 1692, Sept. 19. Col. Thomas Beecher, sen., of Sherky
and Castle Mahon. Edward Richardson, gent.,
of Moorstown, Castlemore.
- 1695, July 13. Colonel T. Beecher, sen. Edward
Richardson, gent.
- 1703, Aug. 19. Percy Freke, Esq., of Rathbarry.
Thomas Beecher, Esq., Sherky.
- 1707, July 5. Edward Riggs, Esq., of Riggsdale, vice
Freke, deceased.
- 1709, May 10. Francis Langston, Esq., vice Beecher,
deceased.
- 1713, Oct. 26. Hon. Richard Barry. Michael Bee-
cher, Esq.
- 1715, Nov. 1. Hon. William Southwell. Michael
Beecher, Esq.
- 1721, Sept. 26. Sir Percy Freke, bart., of Castle
Freke, vice Southwell, deceased.
- 1727, Oct. 5. Sir Percy Freke, bart., of Castle Freke.
Richard Tonson, Esq., Duncathal.
- 1728, April 27. Sir John Freke, bart., of Castle Freke,
vice Percy Freke, deceased.

- 1761, April 27. Sir John Freke, bart. R. Tonson.
- 1761, Nov. 30. William Clements, Esq., of Dublin,
vice Freke, returned for the city of Cork.
- 1768, July 2. Sir John Freke, bart., of Castle Freke.
Richard Tonson, Esq., Baltimore.
- 1775, J. Deane.
- 1778, William Evans.
- 1781, James Chatterton.
- 1783, Lord Sudley. Richard Longfield.
- 1790, Richard Grace.
- 1797, George Evans.

CLONAKILTY, INCORPORATED MAY 5TH, 1613.

- 1613, May 3. Sir Edward Harris, knt., of Cahirmoney.
Sir Henry Gosnell, knt.
- 1634, June 19. Sir Robert Travers, knt. Philip
Mainwaring, Esq.
- 1639, Feb. 24. Sir Robert Travers, knt. Peregrin
Banastre, Esq.
- 1661, April 8. Joshua Boyle, Esq., of Castle Lyons.
Arthur Freke, Esq.
- 1692, Sept. Sir Percy Freke, bart., of Castle Freke.
Francis Bernard, Esq., of Castle Mahon.
- 1695, Aug. 12. Sir Percy Freke, bart. Bryan
Townsend, Esq., of Castle Townsend.
- 1703, Sept. 1. Sir Ralph Freke, bart., of Castle Freke.
Lieut.-Col. George Freke.
- 1713, Oct. 28. Sir Ralph Freke, bart. Brigadier-
Gen. George Freke.
- 1715, Oct. 17. Sir Ralph Freke, bart. Brigadier-
Gen. George Freke.

- 1717, Sept. Richard Cox, Esq., of Dunmanmay, vice Sir R. Freke, deceased.
- 1725, Sept. 16. Francis Bernard, jun., Esq., vice Cox, deceased.
- 1727, Oct. 16. Francis Bernard, jun, Esq., of Castle Mahon. Sir Richd. Cox, bart., of Dunmanway.
- 1761, May 1. Richard, Lord Boyle, of Castlemartyr. Sir Richard Cox, Bart., of Dunmanway.
- 1761, Nov. 27. Henry Sheares, Esq., of Golden Bush, vice Lord Boyle, returned for the county Cork.
- 1766, Feb. 15. Mathew Parker, Esq., of Youghal, vice Cox, deceased.
- 1768, July 7. Richard Longfield, Esq., of Castle Mary. Riggs Falkiner, Esq., of Cork.
- 1776, Thomas Adderley. A. Wood,
- 1784, Charles O'Neill,
- 1792, Sir J. C. Colthurst,
- 1793, Viscount Boyle,
- 1794, J. Hobson, jun.
- 1797, Thomas Prendergast.

CASTLEMARTYR, INCORPORATED JULY 28TH, 1674.

- 1692, Sept. 19. Sir Richard Hull, knt. of Leamcon. Robt. Pooley, Esq., of Dublin.
- 1695, Aug. 17. Robert Pooley, Esq., of Dublin. Samuel Morris, Esq., of Ballybeggon, Kerry.
- 1703, Sept. 7. Thomas Keightley, Esq., of Dublin. Joseph Deane, Esq., of Dublin.
- 1703, Oct. 18. Robert Fitzgerald, Esq., of Cork-Beg, vice Keightley, returned for the county of Kildare.

- 1703, Nov. 23. Sir Thomas Dilkes, knt., vice Deane, returned for the county of Dublin.
- 1709, May 10. St. John Brodrick, Esq., of Cork, vice Dilkes, deceased.
- 1713, Nov. 14. William Southwell, Esq. Robert Oliver, Esq., of Clonodfoy, Limerick.
- 1715, Oct. 29. Bartholomew Purdon, Esq., of Ballyclogh. Charles Coote, Esq., of Mount Coote.
- 1727, Oct. 20. Bartholomew Purdon, Esq., of Ballyclogh. John Fitzgerald, Esq., of Ballynacorr.
- 1728, April 18. Michael O'Bryen Dilkes, Esq., of Dublin, vice Fitzgerald, deceased.
- 1737, Oct. 25. Thomas Evans, Esq., of Miltown, vice Purdon, deceased.
- 1753, Oct. 23. John Lysaght, jun., Esq., of Mount North, vice Evans, deceased.
- 1761, April 22. Anthony Malone, Esq. John Magill, Esq., of Dublin.
- 1768, July 18. Sir John Conway Colthurst, bart., of Ardrum. Attiwell, Wood, Esq.
- 1773, Sir J. Colthurst, bart.
- 1775, J. Bennet, Esq.
- 1776, Riggs Falkiner, Esq.
- 1783, B. Chinnery, Esq.
- 1790, Sir James Lau. Cotter, bart. C. O'Neill, Esq.
- 1792, J. Hobson, jun., Esq.
- 1796, T. Prendergast, Esq.
- 1797, J. Townsend, Esq.

DONERAILE, INCORPORATED MAY 1ST, 1679.

- 1692, Sept. 19. John St. Leger, Esq., of Doneraile.
Arthur St. Leger, Esq., of Doneraile.

- 1695, Aug. 13, John Hayes, Esq. Edward Denny, Esq., of Tralee, Kerry.
- 1703, Sept. 14. Sir Francis Brewster, knt., of Dublin.— William Phillips, gent.
- 1703; March 20. Joseph Kelly, Esq., of Kellymount, — Kilkenny, vice Brewster, deceased.
- 1713, Oct. 28. Sir John St. Leger, knt., of Dublin— and Grangemellan, Kildare. Bartholomew Pur— don, Esq., of Ballyclogh.
- 1715, Oct. 19. Hon. Arthur St. Leger, Doneraile. William Cansabon, Esq., of Carrig.
- 1727, Oct. 11. John Waller, Esq., of Castletown, Limerick. Jephson Busteed, Esq.
- 1727, Oct. 11. Hon. Hayes St. Leger, of Doneraile, vice Busteed, miselected.
- 1743, Oct. 20. William Harward, Esq., of Doneraile, vice Waller, deceased.
- 1751, Oct. 25. Sir John Conway Colthurst, bart., of Ardrum, vice St. Leger, become Viscount Doneraile.
- 1761, April 21. John St. Leger, Esq., of Grangemellan, Kildare. Sentleger Aldworth, Esq., of Newmarket.
- 1768, July 8. Sentleger Sentleger, Esq., of Doneraile. Richard Aldworth, jun., of Newmarket.
- 1776, Hayes St. Leger, Esq.
- 1783, James Chatterton, Esq.
- 1788, J. Harrison, Esq.
- 1790, J. Bagwell, Esq.
- 1792, J. Maxwell, Esq.
- 1797, P. Holmes, Esq. John Townsend, Esq.
- 1798, Hon. B. St. Leger.

RATHCORMAC, INCORPORATED MARCH 11TH, 1681.

- 1692, Sept. 19. James Barry, Esq., of Rathcormac.
Robert Foulke, Esq., of Curraghnehensy.
- 1695, July 29. James Barry, Esq., of Rathcormac.
Robert Foulke, Esq., of Curraghnehensy.
- 1703, Aug. 20. James Barry, Esq., of Rathcormac.
Sir Daniel Gahan, knt.
- 1703, Nov. 2. John Silver, Esq., vice Barry, returned
for Dungarvan.
- 1713, Nov. 7. James Barry, Esq., of Rathcormac.
Edward Corker, Esq., of Mucktown, Dublin.
- 1715, Oct. 19. James Barry, Esq., of Rathcormac.
Jephson Bustead, Esq.
- 1715, Jan. 2. James Tynte, Esq., of Old Bawn, Dublin,
vice Barry, returned for Dungarvan.
- 1727, Nov. 9. Redmond Barry, Esq., of Rathcormac.
James Barry, Esq., of Rathcormac.
- 1727, Feb. 9. William Fitz-Herbert, Esq., of Shercock,
Cavan, vice Barry, returned for Tallagh.
- 1743, Oct. 26. Joseph Leeson, Esq., of Russellstown,
Wicklow, vice J. Barry, deceased.
- 1743, Oct. 26. Brettridge Badham, Esq., of Bally-
heene, or Rockfield, vice Fitz-Herbert, deceased.
- 1745, Oct. 19. John Magill, Esq., of North Strand,
Dublin, vice Badham, deceased.
- 1756, May 26. Abraham Devonsher, Esq., of Kilshan-
nig, vice Leeson, become Lord Russborough.
- 1761, April 18. James Dennis, Esq., of Dublin.
Abraham Devonsher, Esq., of Kilshanick.
- 1768, July 4. Abraham Devonsher, Esq., of Kil-
shanick. James Barry, Esq., Rathcormac.

- 1776, William Tonson, Esq. F. B. Beamish, Esq.
1783, S. Hamilton, Esq.
1784, Rt. Hon. T. Orde.
1790, H. Duquery, Esq. J. P. Curran, Esq.
1797, N. Boyle, Esq. C. M'Donnell, Esq.
1798, William Bagwell, Esq.

CHAPTER XII.

WHITEBOYS—SIR JOHN PURCELL—ELECTION CONTESTS— LIST OF MEMBERS.

A.D. 1800—1830.

THIS county was more or less disturbed during the early part of this century by Whiteboys,* or members of illegal associations. The burning of haggarts or farm houses was a common practice. To waylay, assault, and sometimes rob, was not uncommon. The following notices were collected by Mr. Tuckey from the daily papers of the period:—

“A.D. 1803, Sept. 4.—Between two and three this morning, eight houses and a forge, on the lands of Callas, in the parish of Inniscarra, were set on fire by a set of villians, and consumed. The Muskerry corps, commanded by Captain Warren, succeeded in apprehending seven persons.”

But this was not confined to our county. As the following refer to our mail coaches we mention them:

“A.D. 1807, Feb. 16.—The Cork and Dublin mail coach † was, this night, stopped at Red-Gap, in the

* *Whiteboys* were so called in the first instance from wearing their shirts over the rest of their clothes. The *Whiteboys* of a later period were generally distinguished by blackened faces.

† *Cork and Dublin mail coach*.—The first mail coach from Cork to Dublin was established by John Anderson, of Fermoy, for many years a merchant and banker in the city of Cork.

county Kildare, by ten or twelve armed ruffians. The guard fired a case of pistols and a blunderbuss, the latter of which having missed fire three times, the mails would inevitably have been robbed, but for a navy officer—Lieutenant Alexander—the only passenger, who came out of the coach, gave battle to the entire, and brought off the coach in triumph.”

“May 20th.—The post-boy bringing the mail from Cashel, under the escort of one of the 7th dragoon guards, quartered here, was waylaid near Lower Green, by three fellows, two of whom fired at the guard. The post-boy directly turned, and hastened back to Cashel, while the dragoon fired upon one of the villians, who immediately fell; the two others fled, and the dragoon pursued the object of his charge, whom he overtook before he reached Cashel.

“A.D. 1808, June 30th.—The post-boy who was conveying the mails from Skibbereen to Bantry, was attacked by two men with their faces blackened, and robbed of the mail, after being severely ill-treated.”

The next incident is more thrilling:—

“A.D. 1811, July 12.—The Duke of Richmond knighted the venerable Mr. Purcell, whose singular intrepidity, in resisting an attack made on his house at Highfort, by a gang of ruffians, five of whom he either killed or wounded, had been a subject of admiration and surprise. The account of this transaction is as follows:—

“On the night of the 11th of March, about one o'clock, after Mr. Purcell had retired to bed, he heard a noise outside the window of the parlour, which adjoined the room he slept in; there was a door between the two

rooms, but it had been nailed up, and some of the furniture of the parlour placed against it. Shortly after he heard the noise, the windows of the parlour were forced in, upon which he immediately got out of bed, determined to make resistance, when, recollecting that he had supped in his bed-chamber, he proceeded to grope for a knife which had been left there by accident, and having fortunately found it, advanced to the door leading into the parlour, where he stood in calm but resolute expectation that the progress of the robbers would lead them to his bed-chamber.

"Soon after, he heard the furniture, which had been placed against the nailed-up door, displaced, and almost at the same moment, the door itself having been burst open, the moon shone with great brightness, and the light, streaming in through three large windows in the parlour, afforded him a view that would have made any but an intrepid spirit not a little apprehensive. His bed-room was dark, the window-shutters being closed, and thus, without being perceived himself, he saw standing before him a body of armed men, the foremost of whom were blackened.

"Armed only with a knife, but aided by a dauntless heart, he took his station by the side of the door, and in a moment after, one of the villains entered the room, upon which Mr. Purcell instantly stabbed him. On receiving this thrust, the villain reeled back into the parlour, crying out, with an oath, that he was killed, and shortly after another who advanced was received in a similar manner, and also staggered back into the parlour crying out that he was wounded.

"A voice from the outside now gave orders to fire

into the dark room, upon which a man stepped forward, with a short gun in his hand, and as this fellow stood ready to fire, Mr. Purcell, without betraying any emotion whatever, having looked at the man, and calmly calculated his own safety, remained in a state of firm and manly expectation without flinching, until the piece, which had been loaded with a brace of bullets and three slugs, was fired, and its contents harmlessly lodged in the wall; when he made a pass at him with the knife, and wounded him in the arm, and repeating the blow with similar effect, the villain retired, as the others had done, exclaiming that he was wounded.

“The robbers now rushed forward from the parlour into the dark room, and then it was that Mr. Purcell felt the deepest sense of his danger; not daunted however, but thinking that all chance of preserving his life was over, he resolved to sell it as dearly as possible, and accordingly, the moment the villains entered the room, he struck at a fourth fellow with his knife and wounded him; at the same instant having received a blow on the head, and finding himself grappled with, he shortened his hold of the knife, and stabbed repeatedly at the fellow who seized him, and the floor being slippery from the blood of the wounded man, both he and his adversary fell. While on the ground together, Mr. Purcell thinking that his thrusts with the knife, though made with all his force, did not seem to produce the same effect, which they had in the beginning of the conflict, examined the point of the weapon with his finger, and found that it was bent, and as he lay struggling on the ground endeavoured, but unsuccessfully, to straighten it. While one hand was employed

in this attempt, he perceived that the grasp of his adversary was losing its pressure, and in a moment or two after he found himself released from it, the limbs of the robber being in fact by this time unnerved by death. Mr. Purcell now perceived that this fellow had a sword in his hand, which having seized, he gave several blows with it, his knife being no longer serviceable.

"At length the robbers, finding so many of their party had been killed or wounded, employed themselves in removing the bodies, which they dragged into the parlour, and by means of chairs with the backs placed upward, lifted out of the windows and afterwards took away. In the mean time, Mr. Purcell retired into a place apart from the house, where he remained a short time, and when the robbers retired, returned to the house, and having called up a man-servant from his bed, who during this long and bloody conflict, had not before appeared, placed his daughter-in-law and grandchild in places of safety, and took such precautions as circumstances suggested, until the day light appeared. The next day, the alarm being given, search was made for the robbers, when the gun, which had been fired at Mr. Purcell, was found in the house of a man of the name of Noonan, who was afterwards taken and executed."

Sir John Purcell had two or three other hairbreadth escapes after this. A paper was slipped into his hand in a fair, containing a warning to ride home at once. He took the hint, but was pursued. He sought shelter in a friend's house. The pursuers entered soon after, but could not find him. Sir John lay hid in a cavity of the wall, behind a chest of drawers.

He was riding, on another occasion, with a friend, a

Mr. Seward, of Mallow, when he found himself surrounded by a number of Whiteboys, who sprang upon him out of a wood. They commanded him and his companion to dismount, but informed Mr. Seward that he had nothing to apprehend, as he was a kind man. The Whiteboys retired to a little distance, to decide on the kind of death they should give the "*Knight of the Knife*," as Sir John was called. Sir John, who was a miser, and always rode a bad horse, said to Seward, "If I had your horse, I think I could escape." "Take him," said Seward. Though nearly eighty years of age, he vaulted into the saddle, and broke through his enemies like a thunderbolt. There was a wild shout of revenge, and a hot pursuit, but Purcell escaped. Poor Seward paid the penalty of his benevolence, but not with his life. They stripped him of his small-clothes, and tied him down on Sir John's garron, with a furze bush for a saddle.

We call these lawless men Whiteboys, although some insist that Whiteboys belong to an earlier period. Dr. Campbell says, "The original cause of the rising of Whiteboys was this—some landlords, in Munster, set their lands to cottiers far above their value, and to lighten their burden, allowed commonage to their tenants. Afterwards, in despite of all equity, the landlords enclosed these commons." The cottier tenants commenced their illegal proceedings by levelling the fences and ditches, hence their name of "*levellers*."

The retention of *land*, and not any difference in religion, called these illegal associations into existence. Baron Foster, Mr. Justice Day, and the late Lord Chancellor Blackburne unite in asserting that "reli-

gion was totally out of the case, the outrages being inflicted with the most perfect impartiality upon Catholic and Protestant."

A very serious attack was made some years after this on the life of George Bond Lowe, an active and zealous Protestant magistrate; and at a later period, in 1829, a number of shots were fired into the carriage of Doctor Norcott, near Doneraile. This was called "the Doneraile Conspiracy," and assumed a decidedly political complexion. Seventeen persons were charged with conspiring, and true bills found against four, Leary, Shine, Roche, and Magrath. They were ably defended by Daniel O'Connell. The jury could not agree, and were discharged; so the Doneraile conspiracy, as the editor of the *Chronicle* informs us, "ended in a bottle of smoke."

Party politics ran very high in both the county and city of Cork, to the time of the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829. The *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, speaking of the success of Mr. Hutchinson, the nephew of Lord Donoughmore, who was returned for the city in 1812, says, "If an angel could envy the situation of a human being, elevated to the pinnacle of honour by the enthusiastic gratitude of his fellow-beings, he would yesterday have envied the Honourable Christopher Hely Hutchinson. Never did we witness such a scene. Never did the oldest person hear from his progenitors the traditionary description of such an exhibition in Cork or its environs."

Mr. John Hely,* the son of Christopher Hutchinson,

* *John Hely.* This was the Hely Hutchinson who aided the escape of Lavalette after the battle of Waterloo.

contested the city, in 1826, with Mr. Gerard Callaghan,* the nominee of the Brunswick Club, and the champion of ascendancy. The contest was exceeding close. At the close of the poll there were for Hutchinson 1,020, and for Callaghan 960. It is said that the contest cost Mr. Hutchinson, or rather his uncle, Lord Donoughmore, £15,500. Mr. Hutchinson had Sir Nicholas Colthurst for his coadjutor.

Mr. O'Connell came to Cork in the July of 1828, where he established a Liberal Club. He was entertained by the citizens, the band of the City Militia playing at the dinner. Mr. Gregg, a member of the Town Council, which was then Protestant, gave notice at a meeting of a Court of D'Oyer Hundred in September, 1828, that he would move the censure of the court on Sir Nicholas, for allowing the band of the Cork Militia to play for O'Connell, who had just returned from Clare.† Mr. Gregg expressed himself thus :—

“Yes, I do hope the government will remove Sir N. C. Colthurst from the command. Captain Harding, of the North, refused his band ; but Sir N. C. Colthurst granted that of the Royal Cork City Regiment, and the man that would give his band would, for aught I know, give his regiment to that traitor, O'Connell. (*A deep sensation.*) So help me God, if I were an officer of that regiment, I would not stay a single day, a single hour in it, and for what? Because when the hour of danger would arrive, I would not rally under

* Mr. Gerard Callaghan was the brother of “Dan Callaghan.” Gerard became a Protestant.

† Returned from Clare. Mr. O'Connell was returned a member of Parliament for the county Clare, July 5th, 1828.

or with that man that could act as Sir N. Colthurst has acted. Were I an officer in that regiment, I would, so help me God, institute a court-martial against a commanding officer so acting, and I call upon a gentleman on my right (Ensign Good) to do so."

A meeting was held in the Brunswick Club soon after this. When the new sheriffs entered the room, Mr. Gregg expressed himself thus:—"Whilst Protestantism could boast of such men as James Cummins and his respectable young colleague, Mr. Perry, England may defy the confederated world in arms. The rebel sword may flash, and the Papist's may glisten, but whilst the sword of the church and the state—whilst the corporate falchion was wielded by such gentlemen as he now saw before him, in vain would O'Connell threaten, in vain would that congregated band of traitors and incendiaries, the Catholic Association, talk of their seven or seventy-seven millions."

This Mr. Gregg was a most extraordinary man. Having to propose a vote of thanks to Lord Kenyon and the Duke of Newcastle, he turned to Mr. Dunscombe, the mayor, and expressed his profound sorrow that he would not be in office when his resolution would pass, "as it would certainly immortalise him." When the resolution did pass, Mr. Gregg started up and swore—his usual oath was "so help me God"—that the "thanks of universal Ireland were due to the Rev. Mr. Edgar, by whom it had been seconded, but Ireland has left him thirty years a miserable curate, to preach on tracts and starve. Great uproar in the corporation."

The Catholic Emancipation bill passed the 29th of

April, 1829. Sir Nicholas Conway Colthurst, one of the members for the city, died on the 19th of next month, which opened the way for Gerard Callaghan as a candidate. His address was the signal for battle. A deputation waited on Mr. Charles Beamish, requesting him to stand. "Is it your intention to bribe?" inquired Mr. Beamish. "No," was the reply. "Well then, you will lose the election." Mr. Beamish refused to stand. Sir Augustus Warren was waited on, and consented to contest the city with Gerard Callaghan, provided the election entailed no expense. The polling lasted for two days, when Callaghan was declared duly elected. "The return of Gerard Callaghan," writes Thomas Sheahan,* the editor of the *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, "was the bitterest wormwood to the liberals. I could not, for my own part, hear the sheriff pronounce it. I proceeded homewards from the Court-House through a comparatively unfrequented way, on which I overtook honest John Reynolds, who, too, was stealing away from the scene of our mortification, and who said to me, 'Really, when I see such men triumph, and the suffrage as it is, I am strongly tempted to sell what I have, and go to America, and leave this country for ever.'"

But this chagrin and anguish was not of long continuance. A rumour got abroad in a few days, that Callaghan was a government contractor, and that his election was null and void. There was a protest and petition, which Gerard and his friends treated with the

* *Thomas Sheahan* was originally intended for the Catholic church. He was a tutor in the house of Mr. Deasy (the father of the present Judge Deasy) of Clonakilty. He died in April, 1836, and is buried in Father Mathew's cemetery, where a handsome monument has been erected to his memory.

utmost contempt. Mr. Dan. Meagher* went to London to watch the proceedings. The following is his letter:—

“29, SURREY STREET, LONDON,
“3rd of March, 1830.

“MY DEAR SHEAHAN,

“I’m sure you’ll not attribute my not addressing you before to any want of esteem and respect for you. I now give you the glorious news, the reward of all our labours. When the chairman pronounced that “Gerard Callaghan, Esq., *was not duly elected*, my heart leaped from its place, and is now so full, I can write no more, than to say, God bless you. Yours truly,

“DAN MEAGHER.”

The rejection of Gerard Callaghan was followed by one of the most severely contested elections that ever occurred in the city or county of Cork. Mr Leader and Colonel Longfield, of Longueville, were spoken of as candidates, but the 9th of March, 1829, produced the address of William Henry Worth Newenham, of Coolmore. The address pleased the popular party. Though not a decided Liberal, he was no Brunswicker; and they felt confident that he would not act as the *locum tenens* of Gerard Callaghan, under which aspect the public were disposed to view his bluff opponent, Dan Callaghan. After a contest, which lasted thirteen days, Mr. Dan Callaghan was declared duly elected. There were polled for Callaghan 1176, and for Newenham 1160—majority for Callaghan 16. “Never,”

* Mr. Dan. Meagher.—This worthy citizen died on the 8th August, 1860.

says a writer of the period, "was corruption more barefaced than during this election." Magistrates and clergymen were spoken of as having bartered their suffrages. It was computed that the majority of the electors had taken bribes.

Mr. Dan Callaghan, though a Catholic, and we believe an honest Catholic, owed his success to the Brunswick Club, as well as to the length of his purse. He was proposed by Mr. Lionel Westropp and seconded by Colonel Longfield. Mr. Westropp said, "Perhaps it may seem inconsistent on my part to propose a man who has differed with me so far in political principles; but times are changed, the great obstacles to our union are removed, and now, thank God, our joint interests and common objects should be to seek a fit and efficient representative for our city, not the agent of any party, or the slave of any sect." Colonel Longfield said, "I know there is a difference in religion between Mr. Dan Callaghan and his brother Gerard, but I know equally well that on the fundamental principles of the constitution they are agreed." To this remark Gerard said "hear," which created a suspicion that Dan was a Brunswicker; but as John O'Connell, of Grena, the brother of the "Great Dan," was present, and cheered, the people concluded it must be all right.

Mr. Dan Callaghan went to parliament, and on the 27th of April, 1830, annoyed the Liberals by not voting with Daniel O'Connell, who moved to bring in a bill to amend the law relating to Irish vestries. "We missed the Callaghans, for whose return the brother of the Liberator had voted, and the Kings, and

even the Hutchinsons," exclaims Mr. Sheahan. Mr. Callaghan was courted in London, where he moved in what is styled "good society." He drank wine and lost money with George IV., but, to use the words of the writer we have just named, "the world was well rid of George IV. at a quarter-past three o'clock on the morning of the 26th of June, 1830; which produced a dissolution of Parliament and a new election."

Gerard Callaghan began to canvass on his own account. Dan was in London. Report said there was a split between the brothers. Mr. Boyle, the son of Lord Cork, and Mr. John Hely Hutchinson determined to enter by the breach, and addressed the incorruptible electors. The Callaghan Brothers submitted their differences and claims to the arbitration of six friends,* who are said to have expressed themselves thus: Mr. Gerard Callaghan, your brother is an unmarried man, and has no family. For these, and many other reasons, it is our opinion that he is the fitter candidate.

An unmarried man! Ominous words these. What a promise of good things here for venal voters. It was reported that the Boyle or Cork family would expend ten thousand pounds to secure the return of their "Little Boy;" the Donoughmores would sell "the last stick of Knocklofty," before John Hely Hutchinson should be beaten; and the Callaghans, especially the "unmarried man," would "bleed as freely" as the others. But Mr. Hutchinson thought better of it, and withdrew his name before they came to the poll, as-

* *The six friends* were John Cotter, Joseph Leycester, Lionel Westropp, A. Perry, William P. White, and Henry Bagnell.

serting "that no rational man would expose himself to such an unlimited expenditure."

But the citizens must have a third man; there can be no contest, or bleeding, or fun, or anything of that kind, without a third candidate. Doctor Baldwin was, therefore, invited to represent the liberal party. Dr. Baldwin would not bribe, but he had no objection to bleed, but to his mode of bleeding there was a serious objection. Mr. Meagher says, "Mr. Sheahan touched on a point to which I had not been insensible, and I do here confess that *the duelling facility of the Doctor* was always a serious drawback on his merits." But he stood, and was proposed by Mr. Thomas Lyons. The contest was a fearful one. Catholic and Protestant, Tory, Whig, and Radical laboured day and night. The war terminated on the 11th of August, the Doctor polling 388, Dan Callaghan 851, and Mr. Boyle 1152. The contest cost the Boyles about £5000, and Callaghan £2000. For the honor of the city be it said, that Dr. Baldwin's 388 votes were unpurchased. The affair came off without a duel.

The following is a list of the members of parliament for the city and county of Cork, since the passing of the Act of Union :

CITY OF CORK REPRESENTATIVES SINCE 1800.

1808. Hon.C.H.Hutcheson	1832. Hon. John Boyle.
1812. Sir N. C. Colthurst.	Dan Callaghan.
1818. Hon.C.H.Hutcheson	1835. Col. Chatterton,
1829. Gerard Callaghan,	(unseated).
(unseated).	Jos. Leycester.
1830. Dan Callaghan.	(unseated.)

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 35. Dan Callaghan. | Col. Chatterton, |
| Herbert Baldwin. | 1851. W. Fagan, (resigned) |
| 37. Dan Callaghan. | 1852. Serjeant Murphy. |
| Francis B. Beamish. | W. Fagan. |
| 41. Fras. S. Murphy. | 1853. Serjt. Murphy retired |
| Dan Callaghan. | F. B. Beamish |
| 45. F. Stack Murphy, | 1857. W. Fagan, |
| (resigned.) | F. B. Beamish. |
| Alex. M'Carthy. | 1859. Same. |
| 47. Dan Callaghan. | 1859. W. Fagan died, |
| Wm. Fagan. | F. Lyons elected. |
| 49. D. Callaghan, (died) | |

CORK COUNTY REPRESENTATIVES SINCE 1800.

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 301. Viscount Boyle. | 1832. Fergus O'Connor. |
| Col. Fitz-Gerald. | Garret S. Barry. |
| 402. The same. | 1835. F. O'Connor. |
| 406. Lord Boyle. | G. S. Barry. |
| Hon. G. Ponsonby. | 1837. G. S. Barry. |
| 407. The same. | Ed. Burke Roche. |
| 412. Lord Boyle. | 1841. D. O'Connell. |
| Hon. Rd. Hare. | E. B. Roche. |
| 418. Lord Kingsborough. | 1847. Maurice Power. |
| Lord Ennismore. | 1847. E. B. Roche. |
| 420. Lord Kingsborough. | M. Power. |
| Lord Ennismore. | 1852. Vincent Scully. |
| 426. Lord Ennismore. | 1852. E. B. Roche. |
| Hon. Robt. King. | V. Scully. |
| 427. Hon. J. Boyle, vice | 1855. R. Deasy. |
| Lord Ennismore. | 1859. R. Deasy. |
| 430. Lord Boyle. | A. M'Carthy. |
| Hon. Rt. King. | |

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|
| 1859. R. Deasy. | 1860. R. Deasy. |
| V. Scully. | 1861. N. P. Leader. |
| 1859. R. Deasy (Sol.-Gen.) | |

MALLOW.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 1812. James L. Cotter | 1837. C. D. O. Jephson |
| 1818. Wm. B. Becher | 1841. Sir D. J. Norreys, bt. |
| 1826. C. D. O. Jephson | 1847. Same |
| 1832. Wm. O'Neil Daunt, | 1852. Same |
| <small>who was unseated by a Committee
of the House of Commons in 1833.</small> | 1857. Same |
| 1833. C. D. O. Jephson | 1859. Robert Longfield |
| 1835. Same | |

KINSALE.

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1806. Henry Martin | 1841. Wm. H. Watson |
| 1818. Geo. Coussmaker | 1847. Rich. S. Guinness |
| 1820. Adml. Sir S. Rowley | 1848. Benjamin Hawes |
| 1826. John Russell | 1852. John Isaac Heard |
| 1833. Lieut.-Col. Stawell | 1857. Same |
| 1835. Lt.-Col. H. Thomas | 1859. Sir John Arnott |
| 1837. Pierce Mahony | |

YOUGHAL.

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1806. Hon. J. Bernard | 1837. F. W. Howard |
| 1818. Viscount Bernard | 1841. Hon. C. C. Cavendish |
| 1820. John Hyde | 1847. T. Chishlom Anstey |
| 1826. Hon. Geo. Ponsonby | 1852. Isaac Butt |
| 1831. Rt. Hon. G. Ponsonby | 1857. Same |
| 1833. John O'Connell | 1859. Same |
| 1835. Same | |

BANDON.

1806. Rt. Hon. G. Tierney 1837. Joseph D. Jackson
1812. Rt. Hon. W. S. Bournel 1841. Same
1818. Captain A. Clifford 1842. Viscount Bernard
1820. Hon. J. Bernard 1847. Viscount Bernard
1826. Viscount Duncannon 1852. Same
1827. Lord John Russell 1857. Hon. W. S. Bernard
1831. Sir A. Clifford, R.N. 1857. Same
1832. W. Smyth Bernard 1859. Same
1835. Joseph D. Jackson

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ISLAND CITY AND THE SOUTH SUBURBS.

THE city is generally believed to have derived its name from the marshy ground on which it stands, though some think it is called Cork, from Core, King of Munster. Core was the grandfather of Aenghus, the first Christian king of Munster—he who had his foot pierced by St. Patrick's crosier * when undergoing the rite of baptism. The Annals of Ireland, for A.D. 438, make Core a cotemporary with St. Patrick, and one of his co-workers, or "nine supporting props," in preparing the *Seanchus Mor*, or St. Patrick's Book of Laws; but Doctor O'Donovan thinks the quotation apochryphal.

Corcach signifies a marsh — we still have our "*marsh*," although it is built on—and corrach, a boat. Doctor Smith translates it "a naval place, or a place of currachs," or boats. He then launches out into a learned disquisition on the Coriondi, or Navigators, who made their boats of skins or leather; on the Welsh *crugh*, the Latin *corium*, and the Greek *zrous*. Cork was also styled Corcach Mor Mumhan, or the great Cork of Munster.

St. Finn-barr has the best claim to be considered the

* *His foot pierced by St. Patrick's crosier.* This formed the subject of one of Barry's earliest and most successful pictures, styled the "*Baptism of the King of Cashel*," which was afterwards burned in 1792, with a portion of the Irish House of Parliament.

founder of Cork. Colgan (in his *Act. Sanct.*, p. 607,) says it took its rise from a school or monastery, established by St. Finn-barr at Lough Eirc,* in the sixth century, to which such numbers flocked, from all parts, that it changed a desert, as it were, into a large city."

Sir James Ware says, "I take this lake, called by the name of Loch Eirch, to be that hollow or basin in which a great part of the city of Cork now stands, and which the industry of the inhabitants hath, from time to time, reclaimed and built on." Doctors O'Donovan and Reeves think the lake of Gougane Barra is meant, but there was no city established there. Gougane-Barra is celebrated as the retreat of a hermit, and no more. This is implied in the very name, Gougane-Barra,† "Barr's recess," or cave. He was also called Lochan. Macgeoghegan says he got this name at his baptism. *Lochan*, in Irish, means "a lake." It is more probable he received the name from his lonely residence; that he was called Finn-barr na Lochan, or "the Fair-haired of the Lake."

"Although," writes Smith, "this account seems to bid fair for the settlement of this city on the south side of the river, where the cathedral and the abbey called Gill Abbey were erected, yet it may not contradict the received opinion of this city's having been founded by the Danes, and enclosed by them with walls, about the middle of the ninth century."

* *Loch Eirc*.—"St. Barruis venit ad lacum qui Scottie Lough-Eirc dicitur, juxta quem construxit monasterium."—Colgan. A nobleman, named Edo, is said to have granted him the ground for his monastery, on the South bank of the Lee. The Queen's College, Cork, is erected on a part of this ground.

† *Gougane Barra*.—"On the west coasts of Ireland, a *goug* (GOBHAG) means an inlet of the sea, or a passage worn by the sea into a rock or cliff."—*Doctor O'Donovan*.

We do not know what Doctor Smith means by the "received opinion." But we do know that his Danish theory is opposed to all the statements of our most reliable chroniclers. The Danes commenced their plundering and pirating on the coast of Munster, in the early part of the ninth century.* They made a landing in Kerry as early as 812, but were defeated near Killarney by Art, son of Cathal, king of Munster. We learn from the Annals of Clonmacnoise that the "*Island of Corke*," by which we understand the city of Cork—not the south suburbs, but the *island city*—was spoiled and ransacked by the Danes in 819. The Four Masters say 820. In 833 the city was devastated by the Danes; in 837 the county was miserably harassed by the Danes; in 842 Cork was plundered and burnt, and its bishop slain by the Danes; in 913 Cork was burned and plundered by the Danes; in 960, 978, 995, and 1012 Cork was wasted, plundered and burned by the Danes. In 918 they got "peaceable possession of this province," but it was not till 1172 that the "great city of Munster" and the adjacent county was "quietly possessed by the Danes or Ostmen." We suppose the Danes built the *walls* of Cork. It would appear from the frequency and facility with which they plundered and burnt the city, that it had no walls. They knew how to guard what they had seized; but they practised the cuckoo policy of seizing nests which they had not built:

* *Ninth century.* The Annals of Clonmacnoise say *Rachryn* was burned by the Danes in 1792. "This," says Dr. O'Donovan, "*is the first attack on record made by the Danes upon any part of Ireland.*"—*Four Masters*, vol. i. p. 397.

"For why? Because the good old rule
Sufficeth them; the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can."—*Rob Roy's Grave.*

Hollinshed describes Cork in 1570, as the fourth city in Ireland. It ranks now among the first three, and if there be any truth in the following prophecy, is destined to take the first place:—

"Limerick was, Dublin is, but Cork will be
The greatest city of the three."

The chronicler just quoted calls Cork a haven royal, "happily planted on the sea." Camden says it is "in the form of an egge," with the river flowing round it and between it, not passable but by bridges, "lying out in length, as it were, in one direct broad street," by which we understand the Main Street.

In a rare tract, published in London in 1622, containing "A Relation of the most Lamentable Burning of the City of Cork by Thunder and Lightning," we have the following description of the city: "The citie hath its beginning upon the side of a hill, which descendeth easily into one wide and long street; the only principall and chiefe streete of the cittie. At the first entrance there is a castle, called Shandon Castle, and almost over against it, a church built of stone, as the castle is a kinde of marble, of which the country yieldeth store. The city hath many houses built of the same kind of stone, and covered with slate. But the greatest number of houses are built of tymber or mudde walls, and covered with thatch."

The city is thus described by Philip Luckombe, in 1783:—"Cork is a large city, and extensive beyond

my expectation. The Main Street between the gates is very broad, but other parts mostly composed of lanes, cutting the Main Street at right angles, and so narrow, that one of them, which is but ten feet wide, is called *Broad Lane*." We are not, therefore, surprised to find that the Main Street—by which we are to understand the present North and South Main Streets—was called at various epochs the Royal Street, the Queen's Majesty's Street, the King's Street, and His Highness' Street. This was a way the Cork people had of honoring distinguished personages. Mr. Windele affords us the following amusing example:—

"In the hey-day of the volunteers, (1783,) public gratitude was expressed to the celebrated Grattan, by giving his name to this street; but shortly after the corporation took umbrage at his conduct, on some question of that day, dislodged the name, and in 1798 imposed that of Admiral Duncan. The business was managed on the motion of Mr. Charles Cole; but in 1806, when that gentleman was sheriff, the late Mr. Cooper Penrose thought it an appropriate opportunity to express his dissent from the act, and caused a stone to be put up, with the name of Grattan Street inscribed in gold letters, where it still remains." But, notwithstanding the gold letters, it is called Duncan Street to this day.

Luckombe says that Cork was described to him as "the magazine of nastiness," and the "great shambles of the kingdom," but he finds it "really as clean, in general, as the metropolis. The slaughter-houses are in the suburbs, and there, indeed, the gale is not untainted."

Our beautiful city was distinguished, as late as

1804, as the "dirtiest in the empire." "The mayor seized as many pigs this morning, Oct. 9, 1805, as filled the conservator's pig-traps, which the owners, under the security of a wet day, had turned into the streets to provide for themselves." The following paragraph appeared in the *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, on the 3rd of April, 1805:—

"Our total indifference in this city, to everything which concerns our public accommodation and credit, has become a subject of wonder. Our nuisances seem to have a procreative power, and every day seems to shew some vexatious instance of their abominable fecundity. The day-traveller runs the risk of being blinded from the screening of lime; he is often intercepted in his way by the lagoons of water, which the obstruction of the public sewers retain in the streets; and if he be not rode over by the gallopers who charge along the streets, or run over by the cars, which are whirled along with no less rapidity, he may felicitate himself, on his return home, upon the cheap terms of such injury as he may receive, in tumbling over a few of the many heaps of rubbish which principally occupy our public ways.

"If the traveller by night escapes drowning he has no right to complain, for what with the darkness of the lamps, and the naked and unfenced state of the quays, to survive a night-walk is to become a matter of family thanksgiving. Every stranger who approaches this, the third city in his majesty's dominions, does it at the peril of his life, and one of the least dangerous of the highways into town is now through a sort of canal of mud, and has been so for a long time."

The city lamps had been discontinued on the 22nd of April, 1770, and on the 22nd of November, of the same year, we read, "Since the lamps have been given up in this city, a number of persons were drowned, who, in all probability, might have been saved, if that useful and well appointed mode of lighting the streets had been continued." The public are cautioned in a Cork paper, on the 26th of September, 1771, "As the long nights are approaching, to be careful how they passed over the old draw-bridge, after dusk, it being so old and out of repair, as to be unable to be turned into its proper place." Shortly after this "one Gervis Leary, returning about eight o'clock to his lodgings, opposite Shuttle Row, Hammond's Marsh, having missed the little bridge—in consequence of the darkness of the night—fell into the channel and was drowned." Again the public are warned, "in passing at night from Broad Lane to Fishamble Lane, through Cross Street, as the slip near the little bridge was quite out of repair, and several persons within the last few nights had fallen into the river."

Accidents of this kind, combined with numerous robberies,* seemed to have aroused the corporation to relight their lamps, if we may judge from the following meeting of those citizens who loved darkness rather than light:—

"August, 1772.—A meeting of the citizens was called on the 17th inst., at the Red House Walk, to consider of legal methods to free themselves of the payment of the new tax for lamps and watch money."

* "There were, at this time, (September, 1770) lurking in various parts of the city, a set of nocturnal villains, who were every night employed in breaking open stables." "At this time, (1772) instances of persons being robbed on the roads adjacent to the city, occurred nightly."

We conclude from the next entry bearing on the matter, that no *legal* mode of putting out the lamps was discovered by those Red House, or red hot citizens ; they, therefore, adopted the summary mode of breaking the lamps. "Some evil-minded person broke every lamp outside South Gate, on the 28th of July, 1773." About fifty lamps were broken in Blarney Lane, on the night of the 13th of March, 1774. From this period things began to look brighter in the city. In 1790, there were one thousand six hundred lamps.

Two or three years after this we find the citizens bestirring themselves in the way of improvement. At the assizes, held on the 22nd of August, 1808, the following presentments were passed. "For covering over, and filling, 80 feet in length of Lapp's Island dock, and making sewers, £200 ; for building a well, for the supply of water, near Skiddy-acre Lane, £28, 19s. ; £149, for arching over 112 feet in length of the Watercourse stream ; £13, 5s., for building a fan-arch over part of the Watercourse stream ; £57, 12s. 9d., for building walls at each side of the ditch from the Mardyke Walk to the ferry opposite Sunday's-well ; £17 2s. 6d., for taking down 188 feet in length of an old wall, to widen the road leading from Cork to Blackrock ; £500 towards building a new gaol."

The following presentments were passed at the Spring Assizes for 1815 :—For filling and levelling Warren's Quay, or Lapp's Island dock, £11, 11s. For rebuilding the ferry slip at end of Mardyke, £33, 16s. For changing and repairing the Glanmire Road, from King Street to the village of Glanmire, £1029, 14s. 6d.

The *Mercantile Chronicle* complains, on the 10th of October, 1815, of the way in which the new pump wells of the city were left open, "the inhabitants being exposed to the danger of being precipitated, during the dark winter nights, into enormous pits of water, which lay open like traps in the most frequented streets."

We have a most correct account of the principal streets of Cork in Mr. Windele's excellent work, *Historical and Descriptive Notices*, to which we are much indebted. The following are the principal thoroughfares in the portion of the city enclosed within the fork, or two branches of the river:—

THE NORTH AND SOUTH MAIN STREETS—properly one street*—at the end of which stood the North and South gates of the old walled town, with their draw-bridges and castles, the spikes of which were adorned with many a bloody head. This was the grand thoroughfare of the ancient city of Cork. But we have little more left than the thoroughfare, or the ground on which the old stone and "thatched houses" of the Meades, Roches, and Skiddys stood; even Skiddy's Castle, or the old powder magazine, at the north-eastern end, has disappeared.

The Main Street contains two churches; Christ Church, or the church of the Holy Trinity, in the South Main Street, and St. Peter's Church in the North Main Street. We discover from one of the Roche MSS., bearing date Nov. 24th, 1630, that the

* *Properly one street.* "Forming the point of division between those streets, until March, 1837, stood the Exchange and Tholsel. This building occupied the site of the "Golden Castle," erected by the Roches, to whose representative, Ed. B. Roche, Esq., of Trabolgan, the corporation still pay a rent of £30."—*Windele's Historical Notices*, p. 17.

city within the walls contained but "two small parishes," * of which these were the churches.

Christ Church stands on the eastern side of the South Main Street. It is a plain structure with a gabled front. Mr. Windele thinks that the original erection is to be attributed to the Knights Templars. The church of 1690 had a steeple. The Protestants were confined in this church during the siege. Where could they find greater security? A bomb—one of William's bombs—fell through the roof, which injured the church, but not the people. The Irish replied with lead stript from the steeple. The present church was erected in 1720, with a lofty tower, 136 feet high. The tower began to sink, so 36 feet were taken off, leaving 100 feet standing. In 1810 it lost 40 feet more, leaving 60, which 60 were removed by Mr. Pain in 1828. It is now as plain, externally, as a barn, with the exception of a cut stone front.

The graveyard contains some ancient monuments, one of them as old as 1494. Here lies "Thome Ronan,"—Mayor of Cork in 1537 and 1549. Some kind and pious brother or sister prays, in 1642, "God's PEACE BE WITH YOU MY TOW GOOD SHISTERS, ELLIN AND MARGARITE." A stone, copied by Mr. Sainthill, bears the initials E. C. I. M., a pair of shears, and a smoothing iron. The profession of a tailor was something to be proud of in those days. An indenture, bearing date the 6th of February, 1606, stipulates that the "voyd roome, in the fore-front of St. Peter's church,"

* *Two small parishes.*—"Whereas the whole city of Cork, being the shire city of the county of Cork, containing only two small parishes, and there being four dissolved abbeyes, viz, Gill Abbey, St. Dominick's Abbey, St. Augustin's Abbey, and St. Francis' Abbey—that those abbeyes, with their possessions and inhabitants, may be within the jurisdiction and government of the officers of the city."

may be set for building purposes; but not "*to any artificer but a merchant tailor.*" One Carrule, a tailor, got the "voyd roome," and in three years after it was made over to Thomas Davie, "for a grave* for his wife."

St. Peter's church is on the western side of the North Main Street. Mr. Windele styles the exterior "mean," and the interior "elegant." Henry III. by a charter, bearing date 20th of May, 1270, confirms to the Bishop of Cork and his successors, the patronage and advowsons of the church of St. Mary Nard,† and Killmahanok, and the chapel of St. Peter at Cork—"Capelle Sct. Petri, Corcag."—*Ex. Rot. Plac. 25 Ed. I. in Tur Record, Dublin.*

In the South Main Street we have the main entrance to the Cork Porter Brewery. This extensive property of the two families of Beamish and Crawford, was established by the ancestors of the present proprietors, in the year 1792. It stands upon the south branch of the River Lee, and covers an area of five acres, irrespective of five large malt-houses, situated in different parts of the city. The manufacture consists of single, double, and extra stout, of which about 120,000 barrels are made annually, and sold principally in the province of Munster. It is also exported to London, Liverpool, Bristol, Plymouth, Barnstable, and the west coast of

* *For a grave.* This graveyard, which runs from the back of St. Peter's church to Duncan Street, should be closed as a public nuisance.

† *St. Mary Nard.* This church was dedicated to Mary, the sister of Lazarus, who anointed the Saviour's feet with spike-nard. Dive Downes says, "St. Mary de Nard's church stood in the place where the King's Stone Fort now stands. The ruins do not remain. The Stone Fort [Elizabeth Fort] was built in Queen Elizabeth's time, and raised higher by Cromwell." We think the bishop is mistaken respecting the fort. Cromwell often razed a fort and castle, but never raised one, that we know of, in Ireland. He did not remain in Cork more than two or three days.

England. It employs about 350 tradesmen and laborers, who—since the opening of the brewery in 1792—have been invariably paid upon the Friday, thus removing the temptations to irregularities and intemperance. About £50,000 is expended annually in this province, in the purchase of barley, and nearly an equal sum in hops and malt, obtained from England. The pumps, elevators, and machinery are worked by two steam engines of twenty horse power each, which convey the malt to the mills, feed the coppers, mash the materials, raise the water, and transport the coal—the latter by means of an ingenious contrivance on the principle of a railway. Large tanks, capable of containing one thousand barrels of water, command the whole building, and afford complete security against fire, while an Artesian well ensures a constant and ample supply of an ingredient upon which the good quality of the liquor is mainly dependant. Exclusive of the tradesmen already mentioned, about twenty-five men, horses, and drays are constantly employed in the conveyance of porter to the different parts of the city and neighbourhood, while steamers and other craft furnish water carriage for the more remote districts.

Duncan Street or Grattan Street, which runs parallel with the North Main Street, was at one time an important thoroughfare. It is now principally occupied by cabinet-makers. The Quakers have a nice meeting house in this street. The tide of population and the hum of business do not extend west of Duncan Street. Here was once the fashionable end of the town. Here we still have the old Mayoralty House, which is used as an hospital. Here—on Grenville Place—Doctor

Barter has established a Turkish bath. The fine houses on the Mardyke Parade have a faded and antiquated appearance; the Mardyke itself has lost *ton*; Bachelor's Quay is no longer a promenade; Prospect Row has lost its pleasant look; Nile Street and Henry Street* are wide and deserted thoroughfares; Francis Street, Thomas Street, Peter Street, Moore Street, Millerd Street, Coach Street, and Devonshire Street, have their names recorded in this history out of pure respect of their bye-gone grandeur and gentility.

PATRICK STREET is the principal and best thoroughfare, and most fashionable promenade of the new portion of the city. The water of the Lee flowed up the middle of the street previous to 1783, and vessels laded and unladed on its quays. The south and east sides of the canal were called Hoare's Quay, and Long Quay, and Dunscombe's Marsh;† and the north and west sides, Colville's Quay. The channel is now arched over. The Wesleyan Methodist chapel‡ and the Chamber of Commerce are the principal public buildings in Patrick Street. The offices of the *Southern* or *Daily Reporter* and *Examiner*—Cork newspapers§—are in this street.

* *Henry Street.* There is a Methodist Chapel in this street, the oldest foundation belonging to this body in Cork. The original building was erected in 1752. John Wesley visited Cork in 1749, where he met with bad treatment from the "better classes." His brother Charles, with eight other preachers, were "presented," by the Grand Jury, as "persons of ill fame, vagabonds, and common disturbers of the peace."—*Windel's Historical Notices.*

† *Dunscombe's Marsh.* The Presbyterian chapel in Prince's Street was rebuilt on this marsh in 1717. There was a Presbyterian chapel in St. Peter's parish in 1699. "In St. Peter's parish, in a lane, near the wall, is the meeting-house of the Presbyterians; a large room; the seats and galleries will hold about 400 people."—*Dive Downes' Journal*, pp. 103 and 104.

‡ *Methodist chapel.* There is another Wesleyan chapel in French Church Street, off Patrick Street, which originally belonged to the French Protestants, who settled in Cork after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

§ *Cork newspapers.*—The *Southern* or *Daily Reporter* was established in 1807; the *Constitution* in 1821; the *Cork Examiner* in 1841; and the *Herald* in 1856.

Between Patrick Street and Paul Street—on the site of the old Carey's Lane chapel—the Rev. Canon Murphy is building a beautiful Catholic church, the finest ecclesiastical structure in the city ; but one which will be completely shut in from public view. It may be admired from the back windows of Patrick or Paul Streets, like a beautiful bulb or root which has grown up and shot out graceful tendrils in a glass bottle. But the wonder by-and-bye will be, how it got there. And there, we suspect, it must remain, like “the Prison Flower,” or a cloistered and veiled nun. The only means we can imagine of liberating this fair vestal is by removing the eastern side of that dirty narrow lane* called Paul Street. But where shall we find a Cork knight with the chivalry to propose any thing so daring or so grand to the corporation, although it would bring the church of St. Paul out of the mire. It was the corporation that made the original grant of the site of St. Paul's Church to the Right Rev. Peter Brown, the Protestant Bishop of Cork from 1709 to 1735.

There are two other buildings in this locality which would be all the better for the labors of the Commissioners of Wide Streets, or the Improvement Department of the Corporation, namely, the Athenæum and the Royal Cork Institution, in Nelson's Place. The Athenæum is worthy of its name. It is a beautiful and highly-classical structure. The architect is Sir John Benson ; the builder, Mr. William Brash. It was constructed, for the most part, from the materials

* This *dirty narrow lane* was at one time a highly fashionable locality. My friend Richard Dowden (Richard), Esquire, informs me, that Brown Street—which makes a right-angle with it—was considered “one of the genteel streets in Cork.”

of the Cork Exhibition. It was opened, May, 1855, by his Excellency the Earl of Carlisle, on which occasion the mayor, John Gordon, and Thomas Tobin, of Ballincollig, received the honor of knighthood.

The building now known as the Royal Cork Institution was erected in 1724 as the Cork Custom House, and was not made over for the use of the Institution till 1832. The establishment of this literary society is owing to the exertions of the Rev. Dr. Hincks,* a Presbyterian clergyman, of Prince's Street, who began by delivering lectures, in his own house, on scientific subjects. The society was incorporated by charter in 1807. It received an annual parliamentary grant of £2,000, which was afterwards increased to £2,500. This grant was discontinued in 1831. In 1832 the present building came into the possession of this body. The Royal Cork Institution consists of a library, containing 12,000 volumes, principally scientific works; a museum, a lecture room, and a reading room. It is the property of a number of proprietors, who paid thirty guineas each. Its affairs are managed by a committee.

Under the same roof is the School of Design, which was established in 1850. It received, at this time, an annual grant of £200 from the corporation, and a special annual grant of £500 from parliament, afterwards reduced to £450. But these grants were withdrawn in 1854, and, as a consequence, the school was closed. This state of things was not to be endured. A meeting was called in the lecture-room of the Royal

* *Dr. Hincks.* The Rev. Thomas Dix Hincks, whose picture hangs in the Institution, was born in 1767, and died in Belfast, 1857.

Cork Institution, of the friends of education and art; and afterwards a more public meeting, of the Cork rate-payers, who unanimously resolved to tax themselves, (under the Act of 1855, for the establishment of libraries and museums) to the amount of one half-penny in the pound, for the revival and support of the school; and thus the school was put on its legs again.

The School of Design contains a large collection of fine casts, done in Rome, under the superintendence of Canova. These casts were presented by Pope Pius VII. to George IV., when Prince of Wales. The prince presented them to the Cork Society of Arts. This society became bankrupt before its dissolution, and the casts were seized for rent, when the Royal Cork Institution stepped in with £500 and liberated Apollo Belvidere, Laocoon, Antinous, Mithridates, Maria Louisa, Venus de Medici, Juno, Ariadne, Adonis, Napoleon's mother, a piping Fawn, Bacchus, Cicero, Socrates, a boar, a cow, a lion, and a hundred other fine men, beautiful women, divine gods and goddesses, and remarkable animals, from a very unpleasant position.

The number of pupils, now in attendance, is about 160. Of this number about 60 are females. The charge of attendance is but ten shillings a-quarter, for instructions on three days in the week. The government pay a portion of the teacher's salary, and give prizes, busts and sketches, but the aid is not commensurate with the object. The School of Design contains some creditable specimens of the industry and ability of the pupils in a department where Corkmen have gained undying fame. Here are

engravings of the six allegorical frescoes, painted by James Barry, in 1777-83, on the walls of the Adelphi, or Society of Arts, in John Street, London. This eminent artist was born in Cork, 11th of October, 1741. Mr. Crofton Croker has given us a sketch of the house in which he was born, in Water Lane, Blackpool. He was the friend of Burke, with whom he quarrelled, for Barry was a man of a peculiar and irritable temper. Burke was kind, and, perhaps, patronizing, and Barry could brook no patron, not even in a man of Burke's high position. The following words, addressed to his friend, Doctor Hugh, are worthy of this noble Cork artist:—"My hopes are grounded in a most unwearied intense application. I every day centre more upon my art, I give myself wholly to it, and, except honor and conscience, am determined to renounce everything else." He died, February 22nd, 1806, and was interred in St. Paul's Cathedral. There are one or two pictures in Cork by Barry's 'prentice hand.*

Cork has produced an equally great, if not greater, living artist in Mr. Daniel Maclise. His friend, Mr. Sainthill, of Nelson Place, Cork, has several of his early sketches, and among the number, two or three of Sir Walter Scott, taken on the sly, when the great novelist was in Cork. The young artist dodged him through the city, got a stroke at him from behind the counter of a bookseller's shop, a second on the steps of the Imperial Hotel. The third was a regular "sitting,"

* 'Prentice hand. Councillor Hewitt, of Summer Hill, Cork, has a picture of his uncle—a horrid daub—by Barry, but it is highly esteemed, for the sake of contrast. We learn from Mr. Windele, that a lion, by Barry, "done for the sign of a public-house," still exists somewhere in the neighbourhood." Where is this lion of a picture to be found?

as he waited in his carriage for Miss Edgeworth, by whom he was accompanied in his tour through the south of Ireland. Perhaps the finest of his pictures, for which he received 18,000 guineas, was the marriage of Strongbow to Eva, the daughter of the King of Leinster. He painted some of the beautiful historical frescoes which adorn the corridors and lobbies of the Houses of Lords and Commons.

Both the Royal Cork Institution and the School of Design are in every way worthy of public support and royal patronage. The corporation of Cork would be doing good service to these institutions, and to the Cork Athenæum, by removing the ugly bulk of houses, and the soap boiler's establishment from Academy Street, which makes the natural approach. Has Cork no men of sufficient wealth, or public spirit, or literary taste, to come forward and place these institutions in a position worthy of their pure and noble objects?

THE GRAND PARADE, the widest thoroughfare in Cork, had its canal, or channel, in the centre, as late as 1780, when it was arched in. The equestrian statue of George II.,* which now stands opposite the City, or Daly's club, formerly stood on a bridge—in the middle of the Parade—which connected Tuckey Street and Old George's Street. The site is now occupied by a beautiful fountain. The houses on the Parade are even more irregular than those of Patrick Street. At the upper end, and opposite the western end of Patrick Street, we have the King's Old Castle, or the old County Court-House, now converted into

* *The Equestrian Statue of George II.* is a lead casting by Van Oss, a Dutchman. The horse is now supported by an iron crutch.

the splendid establishment of Mr. Fitzgibbon. An excellent meat, poultry, and vegetable market, passes between the Parade and Princes Street.

THE SOUTH MALL runs at a right angle with the lower, or southern, end of the Parade. The centre of the South Mall was also occupied by a canal—crossed by wooden bridges—which was not arched, or closed in, till 1801. This street contains some fine structures, namely, the Bank of Ireland, the National Bank, the County Club, and the Commercial Building, in connexion with which we have the Imperial Hotel, which occupies the western corner of Pembroke Street. On the opposite corner is the Cork Library. This excellent institution was established in 1792. It contains a large number of works on general literature. It is governed by a committee, chosen from the subscribers. The subscription is a guinea a-year.

The Protestant Hall arose out of the refusal to allow Father Gavazzi to lecture on Roman Catholicism in the Cork Athenæum. The site of the hall is situated on a piece of ground to the rear of the houses at the south side of the South Mall, from which it has an entrance opposite Cook Street. It has also an entrance from Queen Street, immediately to the rear of Father Mathew's chapel. The hall is 98 feet long by 45 feet wide, in the clear of walls, and 36 feet high from floor to ceiling. It is lighted from the sides and end by large semi-circular headed windows, finished internally with pilasters and rich dressings. The piers between the windows are occupied by coupled Corinthian pilasters, which support a rich cornice and entablature, having breaks over the pilasters, running

d the building. The ceiling is flat in the centre covered in the angles. It is divided into panels enriched stiles answering to the coupled pilasters. The entrance hall, at the South Mall side, will be a dining-room, 30 feet by 19 feet; a lecture-room, 45 by 19 feet; a registry-office, 25 feet by 19 feet; three committee-rooms, with keeper's apartments. The entire cost is estimated at £4,000. The body of the hall only is at present finished. Mr. Richard Ashurst, of this city, is the architect of this beautiful building, upon whose genius and useful practicability it reflects the highest honor. The foundation stone of the Protestant Hall was laid by the Right Hon. the Earl of Bandon, on St. Patrick's Day, 1860, and opened by him on the 12th of April, 1861.

OLD GEORGE'S STREET is long, but it has nothing to boast of in breadth or style of houses. It contains an Independent Chapel,* a theatre, and a very respectable school. Old George's Street is a continuation of Tuckey Street; it runs from the Parade to the Custom House, and is intersected at right angles by Princes Street, Marlborough Street,† Cook Street, and Warren's Place.

Custom House stands in the fork of the river, and here divides itself in two, sweeping round our old city:—

“The spreading Lee, that like an island layre,
Encloseth Cork with its divided flood.”

here are those yet living who remember the site of

The Independent Chapel was built in 1831, on the site of the old Assembly Hall, during the ministry of the Rev. John Burnet, now of London. The design of the building was by the Messrs Paine, architects.

In *Marlborough Street* is a Baptist Chapel. The burial ground in *St. Stephen's Lane* is in connexion with it. Among the names on the head-stones we have Allen, Austen, Fowkes, Falkiner, Jones, and Lapp. Was this the *Lapp* who gave name to *Lapp's Quay*?

the Custom House to have been a sand bank, one of the twelve or thirteen islands on which the city is built. I believe John Anderson, a Scotchman, and one of Cork's best and most useful citizens, was the first who built a house on the Custom House island, hence "Anderson's Quay." Off Anderson's Quay we have Dean Street, and in Dean Street a most excellent institution, called the Royal Cork Sailors' Home, established, and now efficiently and heartily worked by Captain Stuart, of the Royal Navy.

GREAT GEORGE'S STREET is not so long, but wider and better built than Old George's Street. It is on the same plan as Westmoreland Street, Dublin, but not so wide nor so sunny. It occupies the sites of a number of the narrowest and dirtiest lanes of Cork. It runs from the Grand Parade until it unites itself to, or becomes a part of the Western Road. On the right hand side of this street, as we leave the Parade, is the Court-House, whose graceful portico and Corinthian columns excited the admiration of Lord Macauley. He speaks of a Corinthian portico, which would do honor to Palladio. It is raised on a platform of eleven steps, and surmounted by three majestic and beautiful figures of Law, Justice, and Mercy. The Court-House was built in 1835, by G. R. Paine, after a design by Kearnes Deane.

There are six bridges crossing the North and South Channels, or branches of the river, that enclose Cork. On the South branch four—the Anglesea, or the Metal bridge, Parliament bridge, South bridge, and Clarke's bridge; and on the North side two—the North bridge and Patrick's bridge. The foundation stone of this

bridge was laid by the architect, Mr. Michael Shanahan, the 25th of July, 1788, but the bridge was destroyed the next year by a flood.

The affair is thus described in a Cork newspaper, bearing date January 17th, 1789:—"This day the city exhibited a spectacle dreadful to behold; a heavy fall of rain began on the previous day, and continued without intermission during the night, and having dissolved the snow up the country, the river thundered down like a mountain torrent, broke every boundary, and overflowed the entire city between the gates. It rushed through the streets and avenues with the most impetuous violence, and by four o'clock had completely deluged all the flat parts, from the Mansion house to Cold Harbour. In most^d places it was near five feet, in many parts seven feet high, and continued rising until seven o'clock at night, at which hour it remained stationary for some time; about nine o'clock it happily began to subside, and at three o'clock the following morning returned within its usual limits.

"During this melancholy scene, several boats plied in different streets and lanes; many horsemen and persons in carriages would have been lost after night fell, had it not been obviated by the vigilance of the citizens, who held out lights to them, and cautioned them of the impending danger. The loss sustained by the inhabitants was very considerable. A cellar on the North Mall, a house at Baldwin's corner, and two in Globe Lane were swept away, as were also the quays in many places, so as to render the situation of the houses, particularly on Bachelor's Quay, truly alarming.

"A brig, without any person on board, broke from her moorings at the Sand Quay, and coming with her broadside across the centre arch of the new bridge, threw it down, and was itself completely destroyed. Soon after the other arch came down. The North and South bridges received some injuries, but stood immovable. On Hammond's Marsh boats plied as well as if they were in the main river.

"No flood within many feet of this, had ever been known or heard of in this city before or since. Considerable damage was sustained by many, but happily only one life was lost—*a man whose name was Noah*. On the following day the mayor ordered the markets to be opened, as the inhabitants would have been otherwise much distressed for provisions."

We have the following account under date Sept. 25th, 1789:—"The key-stone of the last arch of the new bridge was laid by the ancient and honorable societies of freemasons of this city. The morning was ushered in with the ringing of bells, and an immense crowd had assembled in the principal streets before eleven o'clock. At about twelve the procession of the different lodges, dressed with their jewels and insignia of their respective orders, preceded by the band of the 51st Regiment, moved through Castle Street, down the new street, called St. Patrick Street, and advanced to the foot of the new bridge, which was decorated on the occasion with the Irish standard, the Union flag, and several other ensigns. Here they were saluted with nine cannon, the workmen dressed in white aprons, lining each side of the bridge.

"The procession advanced up to the centre of the

last arch, where they were received by the commissioners and the architect. The last key-stone, which had been previously suspended, and which weighed forty-seven hundred, was then instantly lowered into its berth, and the Bible, laid upon a large scarlet velvet cushion, adorned with tassels and gold fringe, was placed upon it. Lord Donoughmore, as grand-master, thereupon, in due form, gave three distinct knocks with a mallet.

“The commissioners were then called upon to mention the intended name of the bridge, which being communicated, the grand-almoner of Munster emptied his chalice of wine upon the key-stone, and the grand-master, in the name of the ancient and honourable fraternity of free and accepted masons of the province of Munster, proclaimed ‘St. Patrick’s Bridge.’ The whole body of masons then gave ‘three-times-three,’ which was returned by nine cheers of the populace and the firing of nine cannon. After this the procession marched over the bridge and its portcullis, and having surveyed them, were again saluted with nine cannon.”

This bridge was again destroyed by a most fearful flood, which occurred on the 2nd of November, 1853, when seventeen or eighteen persons were drowned.

The foundation of the new bridge—now in course of erection—was laid, by His Excellency the Earl of Carlisle, the 10th of November, 1859, on which occasion, our mayor, John Arnott, Esquire, Member of Parliament for Kinsale, received the honor of knighthood. His Excellency, on the same occasion, cut the first sod on the Queenstown branch of the Cork and Youghal Railway, and was entertained, along with a large and

distinguished party of gentlemen, at Midleton, by D. Leopold Lewis, Esq., by whom the whole of the funds of this railway were provided.

The quays on both sides of the two branches of the river, which enclose the city, are—Bachelor's Quay, opposite which—that is, on the other side of the stream—the North Mall*; Kyril's Quay, Coal Quay, and Lavitt's Quay; opposite, Pope's Quay and Camden Quay; Merchant's Quay and Anderson's Quay; opposite Patrick's Quay and Penrose Quay. Here we have the Cork Steam Packet Company's Office, a graceful structure, surmounted by St. George and the Dragon; and the Cork Terminus of the Great Southern and Western Railway—a beautiful building, although I do not know how to style it. We shall call it Corinthian Gothic, for want of a better term.

On the southern branch of the river we have, Lapp's Quay. Here is the Savings Bank, a graceful and elegant structure. On the opposite side, Albert Quay and the Corn Exchange, where the Cork Exhibition was held in 1852—an exhibition which did infinite credit to Cork, in the getting up, entire arrangement, and business-like management. Within the Metal bridge—which is a draw-bridge—we have Morrisson's Quay and Charlotte Quay, and opposite Union Quay and George's Quay. Vessels of considerable burden can go up the South channel, as far as Parliament bridge—right into the heart of the city—and lade and unlade on the quays.

The principal thoroughfares and buildings in the

* *North Mall*.—Here stood the monastery of the Minorities, or Friars of Scandun, founded by Mac Carthy More, in 1231.—See vol. i., pp. 177-179.

southern suburbs and liberties of Cork are the Victoria Road, on which we have the Cork and Passage Railway terminus, the Anglesea Road, the South Terrace, the Free Church, the Blind Asylum, and South Infirmary, on Langford Road.*

The Blind Asylum contains 40 males and 49 females. They are all children, or under age, with three or four exceptions. They are fed, clothed, instructed, and trained up in useful arts and industrious habits. Some of them are instructed in music. They are comfortably housed, clothed, and fed. They look happy and healthy. A number of those poor children were in the City and County Workhouses, where some of them became blind. The mortality is very small. There has been no death during the year 1860. To use the words of the respected secretary, Richard Dowden (Rd.), Esquire, "a fair class of dietary and necessaries, approaching the rank of comforts, make food more in use than physic."

The South Infirmary, like the Blind Asylum, occupies a portion of the old poor-house. This institution was incorporated in 1722. It is supported by corporate and government grants, bequests, and donations. It affords accommodation to 75 patients. The daily average number in the house is 50. The number of patients admitted into the hospital for the year 1860, was 600, with about 16,000 externs, who have been prescribed for. The expenditure for the year 1860 was £1,198 10s. 3d.

**Langford Road.* Here lives Mrs. Neilan, a lineal descendant of the poet Spenser, whose mother, Mrs. Sherlock, had a picture of the poet. I say, in vol. i. p. 314, that Mrs. Sherlock's daughter "saw the picture." I find I mistook her; that what she really saw—to use her own words—was "*something like the picture!*" I conclude that Mrs. Neilan is a descendant of Nathaniel Spenser, of Renny, whose wife's name was Rosamond. Mrs. Neilan, who keeps a Dame's school, is also a *Rosamond*.

Lane's Institution, for the relief of aged and destitute females, has been removed from Rutland Street, where it was first founded in 1843, and is now re-edified in Anglesea Street. The new building, which is comfortable, and cottage-shaped, and dedicated to Saints Joachim and Anne, was opened in 1860. The present number of inmates is thirteen.

Near the South Infirmary is the junction of the Blackrock and Douglas Roads, the former running east, the latter south-east. More south-east still is the Evergreen Road, and the Cork Union Workhouse, which will be ever green, or gangrene, in the public mind for its inhumanity to the poor. Sir John Arnott visited the Cork workhouse on the 6th of April, 1859, and entered his opinion on the Union visiting book, from which we take the following extract:—

“ I have been shocked—I may say appalled—from my observation of the state of the children; and the results of my inquiries have led me to the deliberate conclusion that it would be a mercy to close the gates of the Union House against them, and let them attain the mercy of death rather than be reared deformed, maimed, and diseased objects, through the system of feeding them, to which, I have reason to believe, their terrible state is attributable. For want of proper nutriment, and change of diet, scrofula has so infected those young creatures, that there was scarcely one of them, whom I examined, that did not bear plain and frightful tokens that their blood had been wasted to that degree, that the current, which should have borne vigour and health to their frames, was only a medium to disseminate debility and disease.

“There is no separate register of the deaths of children kept in the house, but I have been told, and can well believe it from what I have witnessed and detailed, *that four out of every five die before they are adults, and that the survivor is, in the majority of instances, destroyed in constitution.*”

This terrible statement burst like a bomb-shell over the heads of the Cork Guardians, and somewhat disturbed the placidity of the Irish Poor-Law Commissioners. An inquiry was called for, a number of witnesses examined, and the fearful fact fully established by the tables of Dr. Terence Brodie, the Poor-Law Inspector—who sat as chairman to take the evidence—that the *annual* mortality among the children, from infancy to 18 years of age, was 20, instead of 18 per cent., as was stated by the mayor. Sir John Arnott, in writing to the *Cork Constitution*, says:—

“As I have verified this statement on oath, you must give me credit for not making it without inquiry or foundation. I have tested it by the Workhouse registry. The average number of children in the Cork Poorhouse, for the last four years, has been 868. The average number of deaths, *for each of these years*, was 156, or 18 per cent. per annum. Take a hundred children, and deduct 18 per cent. for 15 years, and how many will remain of the hundred? According to my reckoning, but five. We, therefore, lose 95 per cent., or nineteen-twentieths, in the 15 years—that is, before they arrive at maturity. My statement, therefore, that four out of every five die before they are adults, is, according to the Union registry, considerably under the mark.”

The witnesses examined on this occasion, besides Poor-Law officials, were principally medical men and clergymen. Dr. Callanan, the most eminent physician in Cork, stated that "such diet would make even animals scrofulous." The Lord Bishop of Cork, Dr. Fitzgerald, says in a letter to the mayor:—"I am bound to say, in general, that the extreme prevalence of scrofula, among the younger inhabitants, struck me, as it did you, with a sense of painful horror." "I cannot but wish that a very searching inquiry should be made into the causes of this lamentable state of things, and the best means of remedying it; and I agree with you in urging, very strongly, a revision of the rules for the dietary hitherto acted on."

I visited the Workhouse and examined all the boys. There were about 104 ranked healthy. About two-thirds of these had the marks of scrofula. There were, besides these, 46 in a sort of scrofulous school. In some instances the whole head was affected; with some the neck; others had sore hands and feet. To these 46, maimed and sick in school, we must add 22 in hospital. The eyes of these poor children were very seriously—I fear permanently—affected, and, I conclude, from scrofula; making a total of 68 ranked as sick or diseased. Of the 46 deformed, maimed, and diseased in the Lazaretto school, only five entered diseased, so that 41 had been reduced to this pitiable condition while in the house. I found that some had been in the house over eleven, some ten, some nine, some eight, some seven, some six, and some five years; the average of the 46 was about five years. I asked how many of the male children there were who had

grown from childhood to manhood. I was told sixteen. "Here is one of them, sir." I looked in the direction pointed out, and saw in the distance (judging from his size) what I thought was a boy about twelve years of age. He approached, and I found he was *a man*! But how shrivelled and deformed! In the hospital, a boy about twelve was brought before me, panting like a bird. I took him, at the distance, (judging from his face,) for an old man. What a look of orphaned desolation marked that child's face! It was aged by want and sorrow. The boy was dying on his legs.

The last report of the Irish Poor-Law Commissioners, and a committee now sitting in the House of Commons on the working of the Irish poor-law, reveal the fact that while England relieves 1 in 25 of its population, and Scotland 1 in 23, that Ireland relieves but 1 in 130. England and Scotland does four or five times as much for the poor with the same amount of money. The average number of those relieved outside all the workhouses in Ireland, for the last three years, is but 2,001; although the worst, most unnatural, and most expensive mode of supporting the poor is inside the walls of a poor-house. The sooner the whole system is abolished, and a good parochial system of relief, superintended by committees of clergymen and magistrates, the better for the poor and the country at large. This country has much to answer for on account of its conduct to the poor in these terrible dead-houses.*

We turn from the Workhouse to Father Mathew's

* *Dead-houses.* During the great distress as many as fifty and sixty dead bodies have been carted out of the Cork poorhouse in a day.

Cemetery, at one time the Cork Botanical Gardens. Here lies a good man and a true philanthropist, though a poor man. Father Mathew died without a penny in his purse. His heart and hand were too large for his pocket. Theobald Mathew, the Apostle of Temperance, like John Howard, had but one object—the good of mankind. He was the superior of a convent of Capuchin friars in Black-a-moor's Lane, Cork, which was originally established by the Rev. Arthur O'Leary, a clergyman universally esteemed and loved for his genius and worth. The Capuchin friars have lately removed to George's Quay, opposite Father Mathew's new church, as it is still called, on Charlotte Quay. The foundation of this beautiful gothic structure was laid in 1832. Though occupied, it is unfinished, and remains, like the "Mathew Monument," in statu quo.

That eminent sculptor, John Hogan,* was employed by the citizens of Cork, to prepare a bronze statue of Father Mathew, for which they were to pay £1,000. Hogan died of consumption, and the commission was given to his son.

In the broken down and ruinous locality of Black-a-moor's Lane, we stumble on a fine new structure, St. Nicholas church, rising like the fabled phoenix from the rubbish or ashes of centuries. It stands near the site of the ancient church of St. Bridget; but "strange fire" burns on St. Bridget's altar,† for the

* *John Hogan* was born in Tallow, in the County Waterford, in 1800; but his parents resided in Cork before and after his birth. Cork has the honor of nurturing and fostering his genius. He was first apprenticed to an attorney, and then to Sir Thomas Deane, an eminent Cork architect. His first work was a *Minerva* carved in wood, for the Royal Exchange Assurance Office, on the South Mall.

† *St. Bridget's altar*.—The nuns of St. Bridget never allowed the fire to go out on her altar at Kildare: "Apud Kildarium occurrit ignis Sanctæ Brigide,

church of St. Nicholas is Protestant. It is a handsome cruciform structure. It was erected by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, from a design by their architect, G. Joseph Welland; at a cost, to them, of £6,400; and to the parishioners of £500.

"St. Nicholas Church," writes Dive Downes, in 1699, "stood to the west of Red Abbey. It has been ruinous time out of mind. It is supposed to be united to St. Barry's. The church-yard is enclosed, but there is a path through it. Some houses, viz., Piper's holdings, near the church-yard, belong to this parish. The houses, glebe, and all the tythes of this parish, belonged formerly to the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, now to the choir of St. Barry's."

We learn from Smith that a new church of St. Nicholas began to be erected in January 1720, under the auspices of Bishop Samuel Brown. The living is a rectory, formed in 1752, by the union of six parishes, St. John, St. Stephen, St. Mary Nard, St. Dominick, St. Bridget, and St. Nicholas. Dive Downes says, "St. Bridget's Church stood where the fort called the Cat* is now built. There is no appearance of the ruins of the church. The ruins did appear before the last war."

Dive Downes informs us that "St. John's Church stood to the east of Red-Abbey. It is ruinous, and has been so for 80 years. Here was formerly a house

quem inextinguibilem vocant, non quod extingui non possit, sed quod tam solícite moniales, et Sanctæ ignem suppetente materia fonent et nutriunt, ut a tempore virginis per tot annorum curricula semper mansit inextinctus. *Girald. Cam. de Mirabil.*, dist. ii., c. 34.

* Called the Cat. I find there was a warlike engine called a *rat* or *musculus*, as well as a *cat* and a *sow*.—See vol. ii. pp. 155, 156.

[a priory] near the church, where they entertained the knights of St. John of Jerusalem * in their travels."

The Blue-Coat School stands on the site of the chapel of St. Stephen. There was also the convent and Leper Hospital of St. Stephen. This property was granted to the city, or corporation of Cork, on the dissolution of religious houses. Francis Blundell, Clerk to the Commissioners for Defective Titles, got a lease of it for twenty-one years, in the tenth of James I. The estate consisted of "fifty-six gardens and several thatched tenements." The "place of the prior, and hospital of St. Stephen," was vested in William Worth, by a grant of the corporation, in 1674. The Catholics regained possession in 1688. Dominick Sarsfield,† as mayor of the city and prior of the hospital, "authorized Michael Gould, his attorney, to recover the property from the tenants then in possession, and make it over for the use of the Jesuits of Cork. The Worths regained possession after the siege of Cork. Baron Worth made a grant of the house to the mayor and constable of the staple of Cork, in 1699, for the support and education of poor boys, and endowed it with the North and South Spittal lands. Dive Downes gives us an extract of the deed, which directs that a sum of £20, yearly, shall be paid "for four scholars in Dublin

* *The knights of St. John of Jerusalem.* These charitable institutions have extraordinary vitality about them. There still exists in Douglas Street, the St. John Charitable Asylum, for aged and destitute poor men. It is an old desolate house, where three poor men reside.

† "*Dominick Sarsfield*, mayor of the city of Cork, and prior of the hospital of St. Stephen, without the South gate of the said city, pursuant to an order lately made in the common council of the said city, authorized Michael Gould, of the city of Cork, gent., as his attorney, to recover from John Cornisk, and others, the leases and tenants of the lands and tenements belonging to the said hospital, to the use and in trust for the Reverend Fathers of the Society of Jesus, living in the said city, the sum of three-score pounds sterling, yearly, to commence from the 25th day of March last, and to continue as in the said order of council is settled."

College; the rest, in trust, for a schoolmaster and poor boys, to be taught to read, write, and arithmetick." The "poor boys to have blue coats and caps, with other clothing, meat, drink, and lodging." The boys for Dublin College must be "natives of the city, and county of the city of Cork; for want of them the natives of any other county in Ireland alwaies to be preferred, all which natives, and none other, shall be named and chosen." They are to be chosen by the bishop, mayor, and William Worth, or his heirs. "The schoolmaster to have £25 per annum salary for teaching the poor boys, and to have £10 per annum for each poor boy's diet and clothing, and £5 per annum to the receiver or steward, and the boys not to be admitted before 8 years old, nor to stay after 14."

The income in 1750 was £457 5s. 6d.; in 1844 it was but £443 4s. 4d. I visited the school lately—it seems to be well conducted. Although in a poor locality, everything looks trim and neat about the school, and the children well taught and cared for. The £20 Irish, reserved for sending four boys to Trinity College, would not now suffice for one boy, so that this part of the original intention is inoperative.

In Dunbar Street, which runs from Douglas Street to George's Quay, is the South Chapel, a large edifice. Here is the Dead Christ, a figure in white marble, by Hogan; and in Abbey Street, which is a continuation of Douglas Street, are the South Monastery and Presbytery, and the South Convent, in both of which establishments a large number of poor children, of both sexes, receive a most excellent and practical education, fitting them for the after-duties of life.

The South Monastery is under the superintendence of the Christian Brothers, with Mr. Townsend as superior.

Near the South Monastery, in Cumberland Street, is the Red Abbey, already described. A convent of Augustinian Eremites, or Austin Friars, was founded here by Patrick de Courcy in 1420. But one tower of the abbey now stands. The priory, with its appurtenances, was granted to Cormac Mac Carthy, Master of Mourne, in 1577, for the yearly rent of £13 6s. 8d. The Eremites disappear from 1577 to 1741, when they turn up in "an obscure nook in Fishamble Lane," from which they removed, in 1780, to Brunswick Street.

In the Fishamble Lane locality, between Cross Street and Duncan Street—formerly called Grattan Street—we have the house and church of Franciscan Friars. They built their church in 1830, at a cost of £4500. Their original foundation, as we have explained in vol. i., pp. 177-179, was on the North Mall. It was called the "*Mirror of Ireland*." Dive Downes,* the Protestant Bishop of Cork, describes it in his "Visitation," in 1700, thus:—

"St. Francis' abbey, on the north side of the Lee, in the north suburbs of Cork. The site of it contains a few gardens on the side of the hill, near the abbey.

* *Dive Downes*. I take this opportunity of expressing my great obligations to the Rev. William Maziers Brady, of Newmarket, rector of Clonfert, who has furnished me with a most correct and excellent copy of the "Visitation of Dive Downes," Bishop of Cork and Ross from 1691 to 1709. The original manuscript was presented to the Library of Trinity College, March 19th, 1849, by Samuel Moore Kyle, LL.D., Archdeacon of Cork, Vicar-General. Archdeacon Kyle got the manuscript from his father, Doctor Kyle, late Bishop of Cork. The Visitation of Dive Downes is full of ecclesiastical statistics, but they are not dry statistics, for the bishop writes in a natural and genial way. The MS. is well worth editing for the Camden Society, and we know of no one more capable of doing this work *well* than Mr. Brady himself.

It is the estate of the Lord Orrery. Before the late troubles, held and inhabited by Mr. Rogers, Thomas Cooke, and others. In King James' time, a new chapel was built by the friars on part of the abbey, but not where the former chapel stood. Some friars lived there in the time of the siege. The abbey, with the rest of the suburbs, was burnt. A good strong steeple remains standing. The chapel that was lately built having been burnt with the abbey, was repaired by Mr. Morrison, a merchant, and is now used by him as a warehouse."

CHAPTER XIV.

SAINT FINN-BARR'S.

GILL ABBEY, formerly called the ABBEY OF ST. FINN-BARR, was the oldest ecclesiastical foundation in Cork. It stood near the site of the Queen's College. There is no portion of the building now in existence. A Frenchman, who visited Cork in 1644, says, "A mile from Korq is a well called by the English '*Sunday Spring*.' Opposite to this well, to the south of the sea, are the ruins of a monastery founded by St. Guilla-bé. Here is a cave which extends far under the ground, where, they say, St. Patrick resorted often for prayer."

The Frenchman was misinformed respecting the original founder of the abbey of St. Finn-Barr. It did not receive the name of Gill Abbey till after 1170. St. Finn-Barr gave his name to both cave and abbey. The cave was called "Antium Sancti Fion Barrie."

Old chroniclers inform us that seventeen prelates and seven hundred monks dwelt, at one time, within these walls. Mr. Caulfield thinks this a mistake, and says the story is founded on a misrepresentation of a passage in the Litanies of Aengus Kilideus, in which he invokes the assistance of the seventeen bishops and

seven hundred servants of God, whose remains lie there. The remains of O'Donoghue, King of Cashel, who died in 1025, were also deposited in this sacred ground. The abbey got the name of Gill-Abbey from Giolla Aedh O'Murdhin, abbot of the monastery, and bishop of St. Finn-Barr's, who died in 1172.

A large number of the abbots of Finn-Barr's or Gill-Abbey became bishops of Cork and of the cathedral of St. Finn-Barr's, and were styled "Mitred Abbots." We cannot venture to say how many, in the list with which we are about to furnish the reader, had the honor of placing *epos* after their name, or a † after their title. I believe there can be no doubt that Finn-Barr, the "Fair-haired," or "Grey-haired," was the first Christian bishop of Cork. He is thought to have flourished in the sixth—some say seventh—century.

"This most holy and elect of God, and most worthy priest, Barr, was born of the sept called Ibruin Ratha of Connaught. He chose the clerical profession, and became a pupil of Mac-Corb, or Macrobius, who had been the pupil of Gregory the Great. He migrated to Munster, where he lived as a hermit, in a cave or cell,* on a small islet, in the lake now called Gougane Barra—the lake from which the river Lee takes its rise. From Gougane Barra he came to Cork, where he established a large school or monastery, and founded the cathedral of St. Finn Barr's, around which the city sprung up. It was thus that St. Kevin left his rocky bed above the dark waters of Glendalough, to

* *A cave or cell.* A modern writer mentions the ruins of a chapel and "*eight cells.*" It is probable that St. Finn-Barr gathered a few scholars round him among these wilds, who formed the nucleus of the larger school of the abbey of St. Finn-Barr, afterwards Gill-Abbey, in Cork.

found the city of the Seven Churches.* It is in retreat and solitude that great and grand ideas are conceived, and the purpose or power to perform them nurtured. It was so with the author of Christianity; it was thirty years before he showed himself to Israel. It was so with God's prophets. It was so with the False Prophet. The religion of the Koran was conceived in a cave.

We may here mention the case of a mysterious man, whom we may style St. Finn-Barr's successor at Gougane Barra. "In this parish," says Dive Downes, bishop of Cork in 1699, "lives Denis Mahoney, formerly priest of this parish, now a hermit, who has built seven chapels there. He was ordered, at Rome, to undergo the penance of a hermit, having been guilty of fornication." 'Tis said that St. Finbarry, from a cell in this place, was removed to the bishopric of Cork." Doctor Smith says that Father Mahoney "lived a hermit in this dreary spot for twenty-eight years."

But Father Mahoney left a garden where he found a wilderness, the trees of which he planted with his own hand:

"There is a green island in lone Gougane Barra,
Where Allua of songs rushes forth as an arrow;
In deep-vallied Desmond—a thousand wild fountains,
Come down to that lake from their home in the mountains.
There grows the wild ash, and a time-stricken willow,
Looks chidingly down on the mirth of the billow;
As like some gay child, that sad monitor scorning,
It lightly laughs back to the laugh of the morning;

* *Seven Churches.* "Here, in this solitude, the saint laid the foundation of his monastic establishment; it grew rapidly, became a crowded city, a school for learning, a college for religion, a receptacle for holy men, a sanctuary for the oppressed, an asylum for the poor, an hospital for the sick."—*Hall's "Ireland,"* vol. ii. p. 214.

And its zone of dark hills—oh! to see them all bright'ning,
 When the tempest flings out its red banner of lightning;
 And the waters rush down, 'mid the thunder's deep rattle,
 Like clans from their hills at the voice of the battle;
 And brightly the fire-crowned billows are gleaming,
 And wildly from Mullagh the eagles are screaming.
 Oh! where is the dwelling in valley or highland,
 So meet for a bard* as this lone little island!"

"Opposite to this island," continues Smith, "is his tomb, placed in a low little house, on which is this inscription :

"HOC SIBI ET SUCCESSORIBUS IN EADEM VOCATIONE,
 MONUMENTUM IMPOSUIT DOMINUS DOCTOR DYONISIUS
 O'MAHONEY PRESBYTER LICIT INDIGNUS. AN. DOM.
 1700."

We conclude from the "*Presbyter licit Indignus*," to which the words of Dive Downes give a peculiar significance, that this hermit priest died a sincere penitent. Mr. Windele, who visited this district in 1844, could find no trace of this monument.

St. Finn-Barr was abbot of Gill-Abbey — for we must antedate the name, to avoid confusion — and bishop of Cork for seventeen years. He died in Cloyne, the 25th of September—we cannot say in what year—which is observed as his festival.† Tradition says that his remains were carried to Cork—to Gill-Abbey, we conclude—for interment, and that his relics were afterwards deposited in a silver shrine. The Annals of Innisfallen say: "A fleet, with Dermot O'Brien,

* *So meet for a bard.* Mr. J. J. Callanan, the author of these beautiful lines, was a native of Cork. He wrote a poem called the "*Recluse of Inohidony*," "*Donald Com*," and other pieces of some beauty. He was originally intended for the priesthood, but quitting Maynooth, entered Trinity College, where he studied for the bar. He died in 1829 at Lisbon.

† *His festival.* The 17th of March, which is St. Patrick's festival, is the day of his death, and not of his birth. Some would say of his translation to heaven.

devasted Cloyne, and carried away "the relics of Barre for Cill-na-Clerich."

We are disposed to view St. Nesson as St. Finn-Barr's immediate successor. Colgan says St. Nesson was educated under St. Barr, at a school or monastery founded by that bishop, near Lough Eirc. Nesson died in 551.

The next bishop we meet in the Annals is under date A.D. 685, "Roisseni, Abbot of Corcach Mor [Great Cork] died." This Italian name is spelt Russin by other writers.

"A.D. 759. Donait, son of Tohence, Abbot of Corcach, died."

"A.D. 767. Sealbhach, son of Cualta, Abbot of Corcach, died."

"A.D. 787 [recté 792] Terog, Abbot of Corcach, died.

Two bishops of the same name, and apparently sons of the same father, occur next:—

"A.D. 796. Connmhach, son of Donat, Abbot of Corcach Mor, died."

"A.D. 812. [recté 817]. Connmhach, son of Donat, Abbot of Corcach, died."

"A.D. 821. Forbhasach, successor of Bairre,* of Corcach, died."

"A.D. 850. Colann, son of Aireachtach, Abbot of Corcach, died."

"A.D. 892. Airgetan, son of Forannan, Abbot of Corcach, died."

"A.D. 907. Flann, son of Laegh, Abbot of Corcach, died."

* Successor of Bairre. Comharba does not necessarily mean the immediate successor.

"A.D. 953. Aedh, son of Gairbhith, Lord [recté Abbot] of Corcach Mor, died."

"A.D. 958. Cathmogh, Abbot of Lismor, and Bishop of Corcach, died."

"A.D. 988. Colum, Airchinneach of Corcach, died." Colum, who is here styled Airchinneach, is styled the Coarb of St. Barry, and holy prelate, in the work styled the War of the Gaels with the Danes. "The two priests"—who had witnessed the death of Molloy—returned home and told Colum Mac Kiergan, the Coarb of St. Barry, what had been done, and gave him the gospel, which was stained with the blood of Mahon; and the holy prelate wept bitterly, and uttered a prophecy concerning the future fate of the murderers. Doctor O'Donovan says—and we could have no higher authority—that "the Airchinneach was always a layman, or, at least, one who had merely received *primam tonsuram*." He quotes Sir John Davies for the meaning of the term. "There are few parishes, of any compass or extent, where there is not an Erenach, which, being an office of the church, took beginning in this manner: When any lord or gentleman had a direction to build a church, he did first dedicate some good portion of land to some saint or other, whom he chose to be his patron; then he founded the church, and called it by the name of that saint, and then gave the land to some clerk, not being in orders, and to his heires for ever; with this intent, that he should keep the church clean and well repaired, keep hospitality, and give almes to the poore, for the soul's health of the founder. This man and his heires had the name of Erenach. The Erenach was also to make a weekly commemoration of

the founder in the church. He had always *primam tonsuram*, but took no other orders."

"A.D. 1000. Flaithemb, Abbot of Corcach, died."

"A.D. 1027. Neil O'Mailduib, Abbot of Corcach, died."

"A.D. 1028. Airtri Sairt, Abbot of Corcach, died."

"A.D. 1034.—Cathal, Martyr, Airchinneach of Corcach, died."

"A.D. 1036. Ceallach Ua Sealbhaich, a bishop, successor of Barri, a learned senior of Munster, died." This Abbot of Cork died during a pilgrimage.

"A.D. 1057. Mughron Ua Mutain, successor of Bairre, noble bishop and lector, was killed by robbers of the Corca-Laighthe,* after his return from vespers."

"A.D. 1057. Dubhdalethe Ua Cinaad Ha, Airchinneach of Corcach, died."

"A.D. 1085. Clereach Ua Sealbhaigh, chief successor of Bairre, the glory and wisdom of Desmond, completed his life in this world." "This name is now anglicised Shelly and Shallow, without the prefix Ua or O'."—*Dr. O'Donovan's Four Masters*, vol. ii., p. 923.

"A.D. 1096. Ua Cochlain, a learned bishop and successor of Bairre, died."

"A.D. 1106. Mac Beathadh Rua h Ailgheanain, successor of Bairre, died." This name is now O'Hallinan and Hallinan.—*Dr. O'Donovan's Four Masters*, vol. ii., p. 980.

"A.D. 1111. Patrick O'Sealbhaigh, Bishop of Corcach, died."

* "*Corca-Laighthe*.—This was the tribe-name of the O'Driscolls and their correlatives, who possessed a territory co-extensive with the diocese of Ross, forming the South-Western portion of the present county of Cork."—*Dr. O'Donovan's Four Masters*, vol. i., p. 771.

"A.D. 1140. Domhnall Ua Sealbhaigh, Airchinneach of Corcach, pillar of the glory and splendour of Munster, died."

"A.D. 1140. The see of Cork being vacant—Saint Bernard states—a certain poor man, who was a foreigner, but a man of sanctity and learning, was, by Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh, nominated bishop, and sent to that see, with the approbation and applause of the clergy and people."

"A.D. 1152. Finn, grandson of Celechar Ua Ceinneidigh, successor of Colum, and who had been a successor of Bairre, for a time, died."

"A.D. 1157. Gillaphadraig, son of Donnehadh Mac Carthaigh, successor of Bairre of Corcach, died."

"A.D. 1172. Giolla Aedha* O'Muidhin, of the family of Errew of Lough Con, Bishop of Cork, died. He was a man full of the grace of God, the tower of the virginity and wisdom of his time." This was the Giolla Aedha from whom Gill Abbey derived its name. He came from the borders of Loch Con, in the county Mayo. He was succeeded by Gregory, Bishop of Cork, who died in 1186. It was during his time that Dermot Mac Carthy, King of Cork, made a grant, and gave a new charter to St. Finn-Barr's, or Gill Abbey. We are indebted to the researches of Mr. Daniel Mac Carthy, at the British Museum, for a copy of this interesting document. We give the translation of the Latin copy, marked B.M. Addit. MSS. 4793, fol. 65, in the British Museum:—

* *Giolla Aedha*, the servant of St. Aodh. Gilly still means a youth or servant boy. *Giolla ruadh*, a "red-haired boy;" *giolla dubh*, a "black-haired boy."—*Dr. O'Donovan*.

**"THE CHARTER OF DERMOT, KING OF MUNSTER, TOUCHING
THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN OF CORK.***

"Dermot, under favor of Divine Providence, King of Munster, to all the faithful of the people, as future, greeting and peace for ever.

"Being well persuaded of the fleeting nature of human memory, and of the unstable pomp of a perishable world, we have therefore deemed it worthy to record in writing the affectionate zeal with which one Father Cormac, of blessed memory, King of Munster, built and confided to the protection of his people, the church of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist at Cork, for the use of Archbishop Maurice and his successors, and for the pilgrims out of Connaught, the compatriots of St. Barry.†

"And now having succeeded to our paternal kingdom, relying upon the Divine assistance, we have undertaken, for the health of our soul, and of the souls of our parents, to defend the said church in such manner as it becometh royal munificence to do, and to redify and enlarge the same in honor of the saints under whose protection the said place is known to be: Be it therefore known to all the faithful, that we do confirm, for all time to come to the said foundation, all that the said place now justly possesses, either by the paternal donation, or by the grants of other kings; for my glorious father the king, bestowed upon the said place Lysnoldarh, and Diarmid O'Connor endowed it with Aillina Carrigh.

"And be it known, furthermore, that we have ourselves granted to the said pilgrims the lands of Illa, and by this our charter do confirm the same: and our illustrious son, Cormac,‡ at the request of Catholicus, Archbishop of Tuam, granted in perpetuity to God and St. John, the lands of Maeldulgi, for the health of his soul and ours, to be enjoyed freely and without molestation, and exempt from all secular services, which grant of said lands we also hereby confirm.

* *Church of St John of Cork.* Archdall informs us that the abbey of St. Barr, or Gill Abbey, was reformed for regular canons, under the invocation of St. John the Baptist, by Cormac, king of Cork.

† *Pilgrims out of Connaught, the compatriots of St. Barry.* St Finn-Barr was born in Connaught, near the site of the town of Galway.

‡ *Illustrious son, Cormac.* This was the *illustis filius* who lost his head for his unnatural rebellion against his father, Dermot, whom he seized and cast into prison. "Cormachos in perfidia instinctus furoris perseverans, credulem patrem cepit atque in carcerem conjecit."—*Stanhurst.*

" Now, finally, we do take under our protection the said monastery, with the aforesaid lands, which we exempt from all secular charge, and yield freely and peaceably to God for all time to come. And lest at any time any one should presume to call in question the truth of those former grants, or of this our present grant, we have authenticated this charter with the impression of our seal, and delivered it, in the presence of fitting witnesses, to the pil of Connaught to be preserved.

" The witnesses are the following of clergy and people :—

" CHRISTIAN, Bishop of Lismore and Legate of the
Apostolic See

DONAT, Archbishop of Cashel

GREGORY, Bishop of Cork

BRICIUS, Bishop of Limerick

BENEDICT, Bishop of Ross

MATHEW, Bishop of Cloyne

DONAT, Abbot of Mayo

GREGORY, Abbot of Cong

EUGENE, Bishop of Ardmore."

" A.D. 1204. Reginald, Bishop of Cork, died."

" A.D. 1205. O'Sealbhaigh, Bishop of Cork, died."

A.D. 1216. It was about this time that Henry III., of England, wrote to the Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel desiring that one Geoffry White should be consecrated Bishop of Cork, he being "a learned, honest, and provident man." This bishop died in 1221.

" A.D. 1224. Maurice, or Marian O'Brien, after being three years Bishop of Cork, was translated to the see of Cashel."

" A.D. 1238. Gilbert, Bishop of Cork, died. He had been Archdeacon of Cork, and was appointed to the see in 1225."

" A.D. 1264. Lawrence, Bishop of Cork, died."

" A.D. 1266. William of Jerpoint, in the county of

Kilkenny, a Cistercian monk, succeeded this year to the see of Cork. He died the next year, in 1267.

A.D. 1267. Reginald, who had been Treasurer of Cashel, succeeded this year to the see of Cork, and died in 1276.

A.D. 1277. Robert or Richard Donough, a Cistercian monk, succeeded Reginald this year. It was in this bishop's time, between the years 1288 and 1291, that the dioceses of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, were valued, by direction of Pope Nicholas IV. The tithes of England and Ireland had been granted to Edward I., to defray the expenses of his expedition to the Holy-Land.

Robert or Richard Donough, Bishop of Cork, died in 1301, and was succeeded, in 1302, by John Mac Carwill, or O'Carroll, who had been formerly Dean of Cork. He resigned in 1321, having been translated to Cashel.

O'Carroll was succeeded in the diocese of Cork in 1321 by Philip of Slane, a Dominican friar, who died in 1326.

"A.D. 1326. John le Blond, Dean of Cloyne, was elected this year, but it is doubtful whether he was consecrated. He died in 1327.

"A.D. 1327. Walter le Rede, or Rufus, Canon of Cork Cathedral, succeeded this year to the bishopric, but was translated to Cashel in 1330.

"A.D. 1330. John of Ballyconingham succeeded Walter le Rede, and died in 1347. This bishop got into trouble.* John, Bishop of Cork, became liable to

* *Into trouble.* An Abbot of Cork was indicted in 1300 for receiving and protecting thieves and felons, but having pleaded the payment of a former fine, the jury acquitted him.—*Windels*, p. 78.

the king for one hundred shillings, in consequence of the escape and death of John Fitz-John Martel, a felon who, being a literary person, had been committed to the bishop's care. But this the bishop denied. Martel had been slain while escaping from prison.

"A.D. 1338. Thomas, an abbot* of Finn-Barr, indicted John Fitz-Water, and others, for cutting down a number of trees in his wood at Cloghan—the present upper Mardyke fields—to the value of one hundred shillings.

"A.D. 1347. John de Rupe, or Roche, Canon of the cathedral, succeeded this year to the bishopric, and died in 1358.

"A.D. 1359. Gerald de Barry, Dean of Cork, succeeded this year to the bishopric, and died in 1393.

"A.D. 1396. Roger Ellesmere became bishop this year, and died in 1406.

A.D. 1406. Gerald succeeded this year to the see of Cork.

A.D. 1414. Patrick Ragged became Bishop of Cork this year, and attended the Council of Constance, "where, for his learning and other virtues, he acquired a great esteem." He was translated to the see of Ossory in 1417, which he occupied for four years.

Miles Fitz-John succeeded to the bishopric of Cork in 1418, and died in 1430.

THE UNION OF CLOYNE AND ROSS.

"Upon the death of Miles," writes Sir James Ware, "the temporals was for a time committed to Nicholas,

* *An abbot.* O'Fin was abbot in 1357, Maurice in 1359; the same year William; Nicholas from 1377 to 1403; and Thady O'Calby in 1418.

Bishop of Ardfert, and Richard Surley, Archdeacon of Cork; but before the end of the year 1430, Jordan, Chancellor of Limerick, was promoted by Pope Martin V. to the sees of Cork and Cloyne, both being vacant, and then canonically united; yet he was not restored to the temporals till the 25th of September, 1431. He sat more than thirty years."

A.D. 1479. Gerald Fitzgerald succeeded to the sees of Cork and Cloyne, and died in 1479. "He appropriated," says Ware, "the vicarages of Clonmot, Damgin, Donilbam, and Bally-Ispellary, to the Abby de Chore Benedicti."

A.D. 1479. William Roche succeeded this year to the sees of Cork and Cloyne. Resigned in 1490.

A.D. 1490. Thady Mac Carthy succeeded to the bishopric this year, and died in 1499.

A.D. 1499—1536. Thady Mac Carthy succeeded Gerald, who resigned the same year, and was succeeded by John Fitz-Edmund Fitzgerald, who died in 1536.

A.D. 1536—1556. Dominick Tirry, Rector of Shandon church, was elected successor to Fitzgerald, by command of Henry VIII., and was consecrated by Edward Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, and the Bishops of Ross, Limerick, and Emly. Pope Paul III. also appointed his bishop—Lewis Mac Namara—the 24th of September, 1540. Mac Namara died at Rome, and John Hoyedon was appointed—by the pope—on the 5th of November, 1540. Dominick Tirry, the king's bishop, held the see and revenues for twenty years.

A.D. 1557—1570. Roger Skiddy, Dean of Limerick, was appointed successor to Tirry by Queen Mary,

and restored to the temporals the 18th of November, 1557. He was bishop more than nine years, and then resigned, after Mary's death. The see was vacant nearly four years after his resignation.

A.D. 1570. Richard Dixon, prebend of Rathmichael, in the diocese of Dublin, was consecrated bishop, and deprived within a year. Doctor Smith says—we do not know on what authority—he was deprived “for popery.” We have shewn, from state papers, (see vol. i., pp. 220-221) that he was deprived for keeping “a woman of suspected life,” he having “a married wife.”

A.D. 1572-1582. Dixon was succeeded by Matthew Cheyne, who died on the 13th of June, 1582, some say 1583. This was the man who burned the image of St. Dominick at the High Cross of Cork.* Edmond Tanner was Catholic Bishop of Cork this year.

BISHOPS OF CORK, CLOYNE, AND ROSS.

A.D. 1582-1617. William Lyon, Bishop of Ross, succeeded this year to the sees of Cork and Cloyne, and held the three until his death, in 1617. Lyon was a native of Cheshire, a vicar of Naas, and chaplain to Arthur Lord Grey, the “Talus of the Iron Flail,” of Spenser.

Lyon took an active part in the politics of the day. We learn from Sir William Herbert's letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, that Florence Mac Carthy's first arrest was arranged by this churchman. He speaks, in 1588, of “Florence Mak Cartye, whom the Bishop of Corke tooke.” It would appear as if Sir William had no great opinion of the Irish Protestant bishops

* *High Cross of Cork*.—We conclude, from a map in the *Pacata Hibernia*, that this cross stood in what is now called the Corn-market.

of his day. "Amonge many defects I fynde in these parts, I fynde none more than of a good bishop, which I wish to be an Irishman, for soe might he doe most goode."

Bishop Lyon expended £300 on the bishop's house at Ross, which, Ware says, was burnt three years after by Doncoun, the rebel.* The bishop died at an advanced age, on the 4th of October, 1617, and was buried in St. Finn-Barr's cathedral. There is a very good picture† of this bishop in the present bishop's palace.

"A.D. 1618-1620. John Boyle, brother to Robert, Earl of Cork, was ordained bishop in 1618, and died in 1620. He was buried in Youghal."

"A.D. 1620-1636. Richard Boyle succeeded his cousin John, and after filling the office for sixteen years was translated to the see of Tuam. He died in Cork, the 19th of March, 1644, and was buried in the Cathedral of St. Finn-Barr, in a tomb which he had prepared for himself. Doctor Edward Worth, who preached his funeral sermon, said he had repaired more decayed churches, and consecrated new ones, while he was bishop of Cork, than any other bishop of his time.

BISHOP OF CORK AND ROSS.

"A.D. 1638-1648. Richard Chapell, Dean of Cashel, and Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, was consecrated

* *Doncoun the rebel.* Read "Donnell O'Donovan, who succeeded as chief of his name in 1684."—*Dr. Donovan.*

† *Good picture.* One of the fingers seems to have been removed, but the hand has five fingers and the supernumerary stump. The idea of his having been a sailor or admiral may have sprung out of this stump. Now that the story has been fairly set going, it affords it the most substantial support.

Bishop of Cork and Ross, the 11th of October, 1638. We do not know how the gap of over two years—from Boyle's elevation to Tuam, in 1636, to Chapell's appointment—was filled up. He was a great controversialist. Dr. Roberts fell into a swoon or fit, when opposing him at Cambridge, in the presence of James I. The king then took up the cudgels and was worsted. The titular Dean of Cork refused to enter the lists with him at a later period, pleading that the Protestant bishop always killed his respondent. Chapell retired to England during the civil war, and died in Derby in 1648, leaving any property, of which he was possessed, to charitable and pious objects.

BISHOPS OF CORK, CLOYNE AND ROSS.

"A.D. 1648-1663. We have no bishop from 1648 to the 27th of January, 1660—a space of twelve years—when Michael Boyle was consecrated, who was translated to Dublin in 1663."

"A.D. 1663-1678. Edward Synge was consecrated bishop in December, 1663, and died in Cork, the 22nd of December, 1678."

THE BISHOPS OF CORK AND ROSS.

A.D. 1678. Edward Wetenhall, or Wethenhale, was consecrated Bishop of Cork and Ross the 14th of Feb., 1678. He was born at Litchfield, October 7th, 1636. Ware says, "He immediately set upon the rebuilding the ancient ruinous house called Bishops' Court," where he resided. Wetenhall fell into the hands of James's adherents during the siege of Cork in 1690. "In the morning [the 27th of September] our heavy cannon were landed near the Red-Cow, by Red-Cow

Abbey ; and there a battery was raised of thirty-six pounders, which playing against the wall soon made it tumble ; whereupon the enemy let the bishop come to us, whom they had made prisoner in the city, with all the clergy, and about 1,300 of the Protestants.”—*Rowland Davies’ Journal*.

A.D. 1699. Doctor Wetenhall was succeeded by Doctor Dive Downes* in 1699. This bishop, who is best known by his interesting journal, which contains the visitation of all the parishes of Cork and Ross, was born at Thornby, in Northamptonshire. He was a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. He held the Archdeaconry of Dublin from 1690 to 1699, when he was consecrated Bishop of Cork.

“A.D. 1709-1735. Peter Brown, who had been a provost of Trinity College, succeeded Dive Downes. He was as resolute to keep the sword and mace† without his jurisdiction as his predecessor. Alderman W. Ffrench having lost his wife, writes the bishop, ‘Since it hath pleased Almighty God to take to himself my companion, and having a desire to doe her the last office as decently as I could so, I would beg of your lordship that the mayor, with his sword and mace, may accompany the funeral to the grave.’ The bishop positively refuses, and takes a note or makes an entry of it, which he dates April 11th, 1721. The

* *Dive Downes*.—He was a clergyman’s son. His family was originally from Suffolk. He married four times. His third wife was daughter of Thomas Becher, of this county, and his fourth, daughter of the 19th Earl of Kildare. He left a son and daughter. His grandson, William Downes, was Lord Chief-Justice of the Court of King’s Bench, and was created Baron Downes. The title is now held by a grandson of Dive Downes’ daughter, Anna, who married Thomas Burgh, of Kildare.

† *Sword and mace*. When the Bishop of Salisbury, who stood up for his privileges in the same way, was asked at dinner if he would take soup, “Oh yes,” whispered his servant, “if there is no mace in it ; the bishop does not like mace.”

corporation of Cork granted him the ground on which St. Paul's church is built. He died 1735.

"A.D. 1735. Robert Clayton, Bishop of Killala, succeeded to the sees of Cork and Ross in this year, and was translated to that of Clogher in 1745."

"A.D. 1745. Robert Clayton was succeeded this year by Jemmet Brown, who was translated to Elphin in 1772. It was in his time that bells were put up at St. Finn-Barr's." Philip Luckombe, who visited Cork in 1779, says, "I have not heard a bell in any of the churches too good for the dinner-bell of a country squire."

"A.D. 1772-1831. Jemmet Brown was succeeded by Isaac Mann in 1772; who was succeeded in 1789 by Euseby Cleaver; who was succeeded in the same year by William Foster; who was succeeded in 1790 by William Bennett; who was succeeded in 1794 by the Hon. Thomas Stopford; who was succeeded in 1805 by Lord John G. Beresford; who was succeeded in 1807 by the Hon. Thomas St. Lawrence, who died in 1831."

THE BISHOPS OF CORK, CLOYNE AND ROSS.

"A.D. 1831-1847. Samuel Kyle was consecrated Bishop of Cork and Ross in 1831." Cloyne was again united to those sees in 1835.

"A.D. 1848. Dr. Wilson succeeded Dr. Kyle.

"A.D. 1857. Dr. William Fitzgerald, the present bishop, succeeded Dr. Wilson."

We are unable to give the date of the first erection of St. Finn-Barr's Cathedral. The present church is

of comparatively recent erection. The church of 1690 received so much injury during the siege, that, with the exception of the steeple, it was taken down in 1725, and rebuilt in 1735. The steeple is of more ancient date. A round tower stood in the church-yard, of which no vestige now exists. M. de la Boullaye le Gouz, a Frenchman, who travelled in Ireland in 1644, published a work in Paris in 1653, in which he makes mention of this round tower. "In one of the suburbs of Kork, there is an old tower, ten or twelve feet in circumference, and more than one hundred feet high, which they conscientiously believe to have been built by St. Baril, without lime or stone, to prove by this miracle his religion; then it was lopped, or half destroyed, by the same saint, who jumped from the top to the bottom of it, and imprinted the mark of his foot on a flint stone, where the old women go with great devotion to say their prayers." Hanmer calls it a "watch tower, built by the Danes." It is marked on old maps of the city, as the "spire."

Dive Downes describes the parish thus:—"This parish extends to the western stone bridge, and so runs by the west end of the stone [Elizabeth] fort up to the sign of the Mitre, from thence to Gallows-green and the Spittal lands, and to Killindrindownagh lands, belonging to St. Dominick's Abbey. Here some small fields and a small street, which are in this parish, are not in the manor of St. Barry's, but in the city. All the rest of this parish, together with several other lands in several other parishes, belong to the manor of St. Barry's.

"The tythe belonging to the Æconomy in this parish is worth about £40 per annum. The tythe belonging to the vicar's choral in this parish is worth about £30 per annum.

"There was one mass-house in this parish. 'Tis now ruinous. No meeting house in this parish. In St. Barry's 'tis thought there are two Papists for one Protestant. There are not above four or five families of Dissenting Protestants in this and the united parishes. The parishes of St. John, Rinn-Mahon, St. Stephen, St. Nicholas, St. Mary de-Narde—where the king's stone fort stands—have been united time out of mind to this parish.

"When Bishop Michael Boyle was here, he lived in the city. The bishop and mayor used to go to St. Barry's church together. When they came to the middle of the eastern stone bridge, the bishop took the right hand of the mayor, and the sword and other ensigns were left in Alderman Field's house, at the foot of the bridge, till they returned from church. Captain Hayes says he has seen this twenty times done.

"The lands of the parish of St. Barry belong chiefly to the Bishop of Cork, the Earl of Cork, Dean Davys, Ignatius Gold, lately forfeited to the king, Captain Travers, Mr. Pigott, Alderman Chartres, and Mr. Webber.

"Colman Sarsfield is Popish priest of this and the united parishes. He has been here about four or five years. He has a mass-house near Red Abbey. He was bred at Bordeaux, in France, in the Irish seminary. Sarsfield, the priest of this parish, says mass twice

every Sunday morning ; and the rest of the priests in Ireland, by order from the Pope, have the privilege of saying two masses in one day, by reason of the great extent of most parishes or unions."

Although he calls the Catholics papists, a habit then in vogue, he was not a man of an unkind or anti-Catholic spirit. Speaking of the parish of Ardnageehy, and of its inhabitants, he tells us that *David Terry, papist, gives the seventh part of his milk to the poor.*

The journal contains some curious illustrations of the state of society in 1699. Twenty pounds was given at this time for bringing in a Tory. Teige Dash was prosecuted for having a harper playing in his house on Sunday. The following fees claimed by the Vicar of Abbeystowry, reminds us of the hangman's perquisites :—

"The rector or vicar usually demands, besides burying fees,* when the man of the family, or widow, dies worth £5, the sum of 13s. 4d. as a mortuary. If the man dies worth less than £5, they demand his second-best suit of clothes, or 6s. 8d. in lieu thereof. This has been adjudged by the bishop's court to be due, and is usually received, especially by the lay impropiators, where there is no vicaridge endowed. The fees for burials, &c., are not the same in all parishes. The same is observed in tything of pigs."

The remains of distinguished men are but thinly scattered through the churchyard of St. Finn-Barr's. One of the stones bears this inscription—

"Here lies a branch of Desmond's race,
In Thomas Holland's burial place."

* *Burying fees.* Bailies, in Scotland, at one time, demanded the "*Heriail heres*," or cow, i.e. the best in the possession of the tenant when he died.

John Bernard Trotter,* the author of "Walks through Ireland," lies here. He was a descendant of one of the Earls of Gowry, the nephew of a bishop, and the friend and private secretary of Charles James Fox, whose eyes he closed in death. He died himself in the utmost misery on Hammond's Marsh. "He was a man," says Doctor Walsh, "of cultivated mind, high honor, warm sensibilities, and liberal endowments—starting into life with all the advantages that could flatter an aspiring mind—connections, fortune, interest, talent, and personal merit, and seeming to touch the very point which placed him on the pinnacle of his hopes. Yet, without any known demerit, he was suddenly thrust from his place; and after sinking through all the gradations of a life, short as to time, but long indeed in chequered scenes of varied misery, he was shamefully suffered to perish in the vigour of life—the victim of actual want, the pauper-patient of a dispensary. A poor orange woman was greatly attached to him, and brought him every day during his illness her best fruit, for which she would receive no compensation. Though apparently in good health she pined away as his malady increased; when he died her strength sunk rapidly, and at the end of six days she died also, of no apparent ailment but excessive grief." He expressed a wish to be buried among the elm trees which shade the walk. "The breeze," says he, "as it murmurs through the leaves, will sooth my weary spirit."

* *John Bernard Trotter.* The first who bore the surname gained it by *riding hard* to serve his king, James III. of Scotland, who ever after called him "Trotter." The author of this history is called *Bernard*, after John Bernard Trotter, who was his godfather. Would he had known of his distress, which he concealed from his friends and relatives.

CHAPTER XV.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE — AGRICULTURAL FARM — GAOLS — THE NORTHERN SUBURBS OF SUNDAY'S-WELL AND GLANMIRE.

ON the classic ground of Gill-Abbey, and at no great distance from its original site, stands the Queen's College, Cork.* This beautiful and chaste building is in the florid Gothic style. It occupies the three sides of a quadrangle. The front, or north wing, which contains the library and examination hall, is two hundred feet in length. You enter beneath the arch of a noble tower. The library is a handsome, though not a large room ; the examination hall, a noble structure, 90 feet long, 36 feet wide, and 56 feet high. The museum occupies two beautiful apartments, and contains a valuable and interesting collection of minerals and fossils. The president, Sir Robert Kane, and the vice-president, Doctor Ryall, have their residences in the college. The whole literary staff of this institution stands deservedly high in public estimation. Indeed some of them possess an European fame. The following tables give the number of matriculated students, from the opening of the college in 1849 to 1860 :—

* *Queen's College* was built by Mr. John Butler, from a design by Sir Thomas Deane.

YEARS.		Roman Catholics.	Established Church.	Other Denominations.	TOTAL.
1849-50	- -	38	25	6	69
1850-51	- -	63	40	10	113
1851-52	- -	62	43	10	115
1852-53	- -	56	40	13	109
1853-54	- -	64	38	11	113
1854-55	- -	66	45	9	120
1855-56	- -	78	62	9	149
1856-57	- -	61	60	18	139
1857-58	- -	57	54	14	125
1858-59	- -	60	52	13	125
1859-60	- -	71	53	16	140
Total	- -	676	512	129	1,317

The following table gives the number of classes, the number of lectures delivered, and the number of students attending for the year 1858-1859. I believe the number of students has increased since :—

BRANCHES OF INSTRUCTION.			Number of Lectures Weekly.	Number of Lectures delivered.	Number of Students attending.
Greek Language	- -	-	9	186	32
Latin Language	- -	-	9	167	38
English Language	- -	-	3	32	27
History and English Literature	- -	-	3	58	9
French Language	- -	-	6	152	56
Celtic Languages	- -	-	6	149	8
Mathematics	- -	-	8	186	52
Natural Philosophy	- -	-	8	246	51
Chemistry	- -	-	3	70	48
Practical Chemistry	- -	-	4	45	15
Zoology and Botany	- -	-	3	70	32
Physical Geography	- -	-	3	12	6
Geology and Mineralogy	- -	-	3	74	14
Logic	- -	-	3	37	9
Metaphysics	- -	-	6	116	5
Civil Engineering	- -	-	3	138	25

BRANCHES OF INSTRUCTION.				Number of Lectures Weekly.	Number of Lectures delivered.	Number of Students attending.
Agriculture	-	-	-	3	182	10
Anatomy and Physiology	-	-	-	5	104	44
Practical Anatomy	-	-	-	5	120	34
Surgery	-	-	-	3	63	22
Practice of Medicine	-	-	-	3	61	18
Materia Medica	-	-	-	3	72	15
Medical Jurisprudence in Faculties of Law and Medicine	-	-	-	3	36	11
Midwifery	-	-	-	3	60	14
English Law	-	-	-	8	72	4
Civil Law	-	-	-	8	54	3
Political Economy	-	-	-	3	24	4

There is an Agricultural School on the Western Road, about a mile from the college. It was erected in 1859, under the auspices of the National Board. It is able to accommodate 32 pupils. The present number is 15. Each pupil pays £8 a-year, for which he is comfortably lodged, boarded, and instructed in English and agriculture. The pupils work on the farm, which consists of 120 acres.

There is a common approach from the Western Road to the Queen's College and the County Gaol. This is not just the thing; nor is it in good taste. An entrance nearer the city would save time and distance. The college is at a sufficient distance, without compelling students and professors to go beyond it, by the circuitous approach of the County Gaol; unless they choose the dirty back lanes in the neighbourhood of St. Finn-Barr's.

The County Gaol has a beautiful portico, consisting of four Doric columns, copied, we believe from the Temple of Bacchus, at Athens. Mr. Joyce, the

Governor, has furnished me with the following return of the number committed for the last ten years :—

Year, 1851	Committed, 5,863	Year, 1856	Committed, 1,438
— 1852	“ 4,999	— 1857	“ 1,377
— 1853	“ 3,577	— 1858	“ 1,122
— 1854	“ 2,972	— 1859	“ 1,064
— 1855	“ 1,599	— 1860	“ 1,173

The large number of committals in the former years resulted from the famine, the effects of which were felt for years. During that frightful period, many preferred the gaol to the poor-house ; but not as many as might have been expected. The people did not possess sufficient courage to commit a crime, and therefore lay down and died by the side of a ditch, or prepared for a death of almost equal certainty within the walls of a poor-house.

The City Gaol is on the Sundays-well side of the river. It is also a fine building. The following is the number of committals for the last ten years, and the daily average :

Year.	No. Committed.	Daily Average.	Year.	No. Committed.	Daily Average.
1851, . .	3434	253	1856, . .	1605	168
1852, . .	2553	234	1857, . .	1458	158
1853, . .	2282	222	1858, . .	1195	117
1854, . .	2224	206	1859, . .	835	76
1855, . .	1618	170	1860, . .	960	78

This is less than one-third of the committals ten years ago. In the County Gaol the committals for 1860 were, to a small fraction, but a fifth of what they were in 1851. The same remarkable decrease has occurred in the government prison of Spike Island, as we shall see by-and-bye.

The Grand Jury formerly appointed the Board of Superintendence of the city, as well as of the county prisons, but by the Cork Improvement Act, 15 and 16 Victoria, passed in 1852, it was enacted that the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses shall appoint the said Board of Superintendence, officers, and servants of prisons within the county of the city of Cork, instead of the said Grand Jury.

The County Lunatic Asylum stands on the northern bank of the river Lee. The style of architecture is of the 14th century. The chapel and tower of a more advanced period. It is spread along an immense frontage, and is as windy as the caves of Æolus. The annual number of patients is somewhere about 500. The building was commenced in 1847, and erected at an enormous expense to the county.

On the same side of the river, and about a mile from Cork, are the Corporation Water-Works, erected in 1857. The engine, which was manufactured by the Messrs. Mac Adam, of Belfast, is styled a Cornish Pumping Steam Engine. It is guaranteed to raise 2,000,000 gallons of water to the height of 180 feet in twenty-four working hours. Judging from the fearful thumping of the engine, I suspect it will soon work itself out, or beat itself down. It consumes more coals than the corporation had reason to expect.

The principal buildings in the northern suburbs of the city, besides those already mentioned, are the new Church of St. Vincent, Sunday's-well; the Friary and Church of the Dominicans, on Pope's Quay; the Catholic Cathedral; St. Anne's and St. Mary's Shandon; the North Chapel and North Presentation Con-

vent; Christian Brothers' Schools; the Green-coat School; the North Infirmary; the Fever Hospital; the Deaf and Dumb Asylum; the Butter Market; Murphy's Brewery, formerly the Foundling Hospital; and two distilleries. And at the Glanmire side, St. Patrick's Chapel; the new Scots' Church; a Methodist Chapel; and the Cork Barracks.

The Dominican Friars, or the Friar Preachers, now of Pope's Quay, were originally established in the Convent of St. Mary's of the Isle, which was founded by Philip de Barry in 1229. A bronze equestrian statue of the founder was preserved in the church till the suppression of the house under Henry VIII. The convent, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was called *St. Mary's of the Isle* from its insular position, being built on one of the thirteen marshes* or islands of Cork.

David Mac Kelly, who was Dean of Cashel and Bishop of Cloyne, took the habit of a Dominican in this house in 1237. He was translated the next year to the metropolitan see of Cashel, where he established a fraternity of the same order, and built for them "a beautiful church and abbey," not far from his own cathedral, on the Rock of Cashel. This David assisted at the general Council of Lyon. He died in 1252. Philip de Slane, who was Bishop of Cork in 1321, was a member of this fraternity.

We do not know to what extent this convent was endowed by Philip de Barry. We find the prior, Friar Philip, suing Matthew de Cantillon, in 1306,

* *Thirteen marshes.* An old ground plan, or map, of Cork, in the Tower of London, bearing date A.D. 1645, shews thirteen marshes or islands.

for a messuage,* and its appurtenances in St. Nicholas Street, which he claimed in right of his church, as having been unjustly given by the late prior, Gilbert Planck, to Thomas de Sarsfield.

An annual allowance of thirty-five marks, from the royal treasury, was granted to the convent in 1309; and the charter of Edward II. to the city of Cork in 1317, a free passage was given to the friars to enter the gate of the lately erected city walls, nearest to the abbey. The friars were allowed, what might be termed in modern days, "the privilege of the latch-key." We find that the institution "suffered some relaxation of discipline during the civil war in Cork, occasioned by the war of the Roses in England, but this was amended by a general chapter of the order held in Rome, 1484. Fifty years after this we read in the Annals of St. Mary's of the Isle:—

"A.D. 1536. All the Dominican communities of Ireland, inside and outside *the pale*, being restored to discipline, and united in spirit, were formed into a distinct province of the order, to be governed by an Irish provincial, freely chosen in chapter. Thus, providentially, was the *Hibernia Dominicana*, by being separated from the authority of the English provincial, saved from utter extinction, in which, as the parent province of England, it might have perished during "the Dissolution of Religious Houses," under Henry VIII., or survived merely as a portion of a *titular* province.

"A.D. 1544. This monastery of the Island at Cork, with all its appurtenances, lands, water mills, salmon weirs, fishing pools, was confiscated to the crown, and sold to William Boureman, at a head rent of six shillings and nine-pence† a-year."

* *A messuage* is "a house and ground set apart for household uses."—*Johanna*.

† *Six Shillings and nine-pence*. The Dominican Abbey of Kilmallock was suppressed about this time, when George Grenliffe offered to take the abbey and lands at a yearly rent of £4 10s. He at the same time promises good service in getting Gosshawkes and Merlyons.—*Calendar of State Papers, A.D. 1609-1673*, p. 163.

ix shillings and nine-pence, for three small gar-
 s, two stangs of land, a fishing pool, half a salmon
 ; three acres of arable land near Evergreen, and
 ity acres of pasture in Galvereston. William
 reman got a bargain.

he Dominican Friars were at one time possessed
 o highly prized relics, the images of St. Dominick
 of the blessed Virgin Mary. Matthew Cheyne,
 Protestant Bishop of Cork, laid violent hands on
 image of St. Dominick, in 1578, and had it pub-
 burnt at the High Cross, "to the great grief of
 Irish of that place." The "miraculous image of
 Blessed Virgin," a carving in ivory, about three
 es long, and a good deal worn and discoloured by
 , is in custody of the friars, preserved in a silver
 , which bears the following inscription: "*Orate
 anima Onoriæ, filiæ Jacobi de Geraldine, quæ me
 fecit.*" This Onoria, or Honoria, the daughter of
 es Fitzgerald, was not the "long-lived Countess of
 nond," as Mr. Roche conjectures. The old countess'
 e was Catherine, and her father's name John—
 John of Dromana; nor was she the daughter of Sir
 es Desmond, who was slain by Burke, in 1597, as
 Croker thinks, but the daughter of James, the
 anth Earl of Desmond, long known as the pretended
 for whom the dispensation was procured to marry
 Carthy More.

A.D. 1647. Richard Barry, a Cork Dominican and prior of the
 in Cashel, refused to accept his life on condition of stripping
 of his religious habit, and assuming a secular dress, which
 emed would be an act of apostacy. He was condemned to be
 d alive on the summit of the Rock of Cashel, and having

heroically suffered in the flames for the space of two hours, was transfix'd through the side with a sword. Four days after, when the parliamentary forces had retired, the Vicar-General, with the Notary Apostolic, Henry O'Callanan, having judicially examined the proofs of his martyrdom, conveyed his sacred remains in solemn procession and with joyful anthems, to the beautiful cloister of his convent, where, perhaps, they are reposing undisturbed to the present day.

"A.D. 1648. Brother Dominic de Burgo, a young professed member of the order of preachers, and near relative of the Earl of Clanricarde, was made prisoner on board of the ship in which he had taken his passage for Spain, to pursue his studies. He was thrown into prison at Kinsale, whence he made his escape by jumping from the top of the jail wall down on the sea-shore. For two days, he lay concealed in a neighbouring wood, all covered with mud, without clothing, food, or drink. At length, he found shelter under the hospitable roof of the Roches in that neighbourhood, probably of Garrettstown. He became, at a later period of life, Bishop of Elphin, for whose head or capture the government offered a large reward, and to whom Oliver Plunket, the martyred Archbishop of Armagh, wrote from his dungeon, warning him of the attempts of the privy council against his life. He died in exile.

"A.D. 1651. Father Eneas Ambrose O'Cahil, an eloquent preacher, and zealous missionary in Cork, being recognised as a Friar of the Dominican community, was rushed upon by a troop of Cromwell's soldiers, cut to pieces with their sabres, and his limbs scattered about, to be trampled under foot."

Father Eustace Maguire, who defended the castle of Dromagh, near Kanturk, was a warlike member of this fraternity.

James II., who came to Cork from Kinsale in 1689, lodged in the old island house. It was deserted by the brethren on the accession of William, Prince of Orange, and used as a residence by the mayor or governor of Cork. It afterwards became the town mansion of the Earl of Inchiquin. This family pos-

the rent-charge of the site on which the convent and which is now occupied by a new convent of Sisters of Mercy. In 1721 we find this school of Dominican Friars living in a narrow lane off Shandon on the north side of the river, called, to this day, Friary Lane. Here they built a convent on the site of Shandon Castle, where Sir George and Lady Carew lived.* In 1784 they built a new convent and on the same site, and in 1832 was laid the foundation of St. Mary's Church, Pope's Quay, which is in connexion with the priory; and in 1848 the foundation of the present convent, immediately above the

CONVENT OF THE SISTERS OF MERCY of St. Mary's Isle, which now occupies the site of the old Dominican Priory, is a beautiful Tudor structure, designed by Mr. William Atkins. The foundation was laid in 1850. The house was first opened and occupied by the order of the Sisters of Mercy in 1852. The first nun, Miss Catherine Macauley—being an English girl—was reared by a respectable Protestant family in Dublin. She commenced her novitiate in 1827, and was installed, as a patroness of the order, in 1830. The number of the sisterhood is about thirty-five. They board, clothe, and educate about sixty orphan girls, and give the advantages of their asylum to six females, whom they fit for servants. They superintend a school—in connexion with the National Board—of about 300 children, and take the

George and Lady Carew lived. Sir George's wife was Joyce, daughter of John Hopton, of Warwickshire. She and her husband lie buried in the Church of St. Mary, on the Avon. A rusty helmet and a tattered horn are suspended above the altar.

superintendence of an excellent hospital, established in the old Mayoralty House.

THE CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL stands on a commanding height on the north side of the city. It is now, with its massive square tower, a noble ecclesiastical structure. Mr. Windele says its interior "presents one of the richest specimens of the florid gothic in Ireland. The altar and ceiling are gorgeously decorated. It was built in 1808, on the site of an older church, but in 1729, by the Right Reverend Timothy MacCarthy, Catholic Bishop of Cork and Cloyne. The present cathedral church was founded by the Rev. D. Moylan.

The Very Rev. Dean Murphy has been kind enough to furnish me with the following list of Catholic Bishops and the year of their appointment:—

CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF CORK AND CLOYNE.

- A.D. 1580. Edmond Tanner.
- A.D. 1646. Robert Barry.
- A.D. 1684. Pierce Creagh.
- A.D. 1694. John Baptist Slyne.
- A.D. 1710. Denis M'Carthy.
- A.D. 1728. Timothy M'Carthy.

CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF CORK.*

- A.D. 1749. Richard Walsh.
- A.D. 1763. John Butler.
- A.D. 1787. Francis Moylan.
- A.D. 1803. Florence MacCarthy, Coadjutor Bishop.
- A.D. 1815. John Murphy.
- A.D. 1847. William Delany.

* *Catholic Bishops of Cork.* The dioceses of Cork and Cloyne, which had long united, were separated in 1749.

We have copied the following list from a manuscript book in the possession of the Very Rev. Canon Kelleher, of Kinsale :—

"1712. Dr. Denis Mac Carthy, consecrated Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, died, March, 1725.

1726. Dr. Timothy Mac Carthy Rabach, consecrated Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, died, August 20th, 1747, aged 83 Years.

1747. Dr. Richard Walsh was consecrated in Dublin Bishop of Cork, with Dr. John O'Brien, Bishop of Cloyne and Ross. Dr. Walsh departed this life on a Friday morning, about five o'clock, January 7th, 1763, aged 75 Years.

1763. Dr. John Butler, uncle to the Lord Dunboyne, was consecrated Bishop of Cork, and came the 17th day of June, 1763, to Cork, and lodged a night or two at Mr. Crotty's, near Ballyvolane.

Dr. Creagh.

1786. Doctor Francis Moylan, consecrated Bishop of Cork, died, 1815.

1800. Doctor Florence Mac Carthy, coadjutor, died, 1810.

1815. Doctor John Murphy, died April 9th, 1847.

1847. Doctor William Delany."

The bishop, John Butler, above mentioned, succeeded to the title and estates of his nephew, Lord Dunboyne, and applied to the pope for permission to marry, which was refused. He thereupon read his recantation, and married a Protestant lady—a Miss Butler of Hilford, county Tipperary—but had no issue. After a time he sent for Dr. Gahan, an Augustinian friar, and returned to the Catholic church, and at his death

bequeathed part of the property to Maynooth College, which supplies the funds for the Dunboyne Scholarship.

The Dunboyne title became extinct at the bishop's death, but was revived by the decision of the House of Lords in 1860, in the person of Theobald Fitzwalter Butler. The barony of Dunboyne is a creation dating as far back as Henry VIII. The dowager Lady Dunboyne, or the bishop's widow, died in August, 1860, in her ninety-sixth year. She married a second time, the late J. Hubert Moore, Esq., of Shannon Grove, near Banagher, in the King's county.

ST. ANNE'S SHANDON, or Sean-dun,* stands on Shandon hill. It was built in 1722. It is a plain structure, with a pepper-castor steeple, 170 feet high, having a good chime of bells, placed there in 1750. Mr. Francis Mahony, better known as Father Prout, a man of whose genius Cork may be justly proud, wrote thus of these Shandon bells:—

“ With deep affection,
And recollection,
I often think on
 Those Shandon bells !
Whose sounds so wild, would,
In days of childhood,
Fling round my cradle
 Their magic spells.

On this I ponder,
Where'er I wander,
And thus grow fonder,
 Sweet Cork of thee ;
With thy bells of Shandon,
That sound so grand on
The pleasant waters
 Of the river Lee.”

* *Sean-dun*, i.e., “the old fort.” On this hill stood Shandon Castle.

One of the tombstones in the churchyard bears this inscription: "This monument is erected at the charges of Elizabeth Coppinger, chief of the name, who deceased the 28th of July, 1681, aged 71 years."

The Green-Coat School, in connexion with this church, was established in 1720. There is still a school on the premises, where twenty-two boys get plain English education, and a blue jacket once a year. In the same ground are asylums for poor men and women, but they appear in a very decayed state. These institutions are thus described by Mr. Windele, in 1844:—

"The Green-Coat, in the churchyard of St. Anne's Shandon, was erected in 1720, and is supported on a bequest of £24, (now producing £235 8s. yearly,) left by Stephen Skiddy, of London, vintner, in 1784; a grant from the corporation, and another bequest, under the will of Roger Brettridge, made in 1683. The gross income is £493 18s. In this establishment 41 Protestant widows and 7 old soldiers are maintained, and 20 boys and 20 girls are supported,* and educated, and finally apprenticed out to trades. Day and Sunday schools are attached. The alms-house stands to the west of the schools, and forms, with the latter, three sides of a square. A piazza runs in front of the basement story, consisting of numerous arches, and forms a perfect cloister or ambulatory. In Skiddy's alms-house died, 1792, aged 103 years, Catherine Parr, great grand-daughter of the famous old Thomas Parr; but her years were exceeded by those of Margaret Ward, who, at the age of 106, died in the alms-house of St. Peter's parish, in the year 1797.

* *Supported.* The children are not supported now. The whole of the buildings, in connexion with these charities, have a dirty and broken-down appearance.

ST. MARY'S SHANDON. An old church of this name stood a little to the east of St. Anne's. It was destroyed during the siege of 1690, when the Governor of Cork, Macgillicuddy, fired the suburbs. St. Mary's, in Shandon Street, was built in 1693. The ground was given by Sir Henry Sydney, as appears by the following tablet over the door :—" Ad Edificandum Templum Hoc Quantulum est agri Donum Parochiæ Sanctæ Mariæ de Shandon. Dedit Nobilissimus Dominus, Henricus Vicecomes Sydney, Hiberniæ Prorex. AN. DOMINI MD.CXCIII. Cujus memoriæ in Æternum floreat." It is a plain but comfortable church. There is an idea that the vaults of this church, like that of St. Michan's,* in Dublin, possess the property of preserving bodies from decay. Mr. Windele informs us that the body of the Rev. Mr. M'Daniel, a chaplain of the City Gaol, who died in 1768, was found perfect thirty years after death. His body was somewhat the colour of bogwood, and was perfectly dry and smooth. "*He is said to have been a hard liver.*" The whole of the body has now gone to decay. We learn from Halls' Ireland, that the bodies of the Two Sheares were lying in the vaults of St. Michan's in a high state of preservation to a very late period. "The principal vaults are in a long corridor under the centre of the church, off which there are thirteen chambers. In one of these were deposited the remains of the two unfortunate brothers, Sheares,

* *St. Michan's.* "The bodies in the best state of preservation are in a small vault under the right angle of the transept; one of which is said to be the body of St. Michan, laid there 200 years ago. It is that of a man of short stature, and is still quite perfect. The nails continue on the hands and feet, and the entire of the flesh and skin remains on the bones." The flesh is like the cover of an old book, bound in law-calf.—*Halls' Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 312.

who were executed for rebellion in 1798. They were, until the last few years, in a state of perfect preservation." They were removed to another vault, which was not as dry, and since they have "rapidly decayed, and are now almost mere skeletons." They lie side by side in two uncovered coffins, with their skulls upon their chests, where their gory heads were placed the day they were executed.

From Shandon Street we proceed to Mallow Lane, the site of the old Butter Market.

On the butter-buyers of Mallow Lane, Alexander the Coppersmith makes a most ridiculously fearful onslaught in 1737. "This suburb, by various acts of cozenage, its happy situation, and possession of the weigh-houses, has branched itself into such business, as almost to overtop its mother." He would sooner see the weigh-house in Gallows Green. "Every country fellow, who has generally something to buy, when he sells his butter, must of necessity stalk through the whole city, where he has an opportunity of gaping at every shop. Pray, sir, is it not a very uncomfortable sight for any Protestant shopkeeper of this city to behold thatch and a skylight edified into decent windows and slat; when a flat-footed Milesian shall have the impertinence to have his table graced with a chaplain and pinched diaper." We suspect he refers here to the fortunes made by butter-buyers, on whom he pours out this viol of his wrath: "They rob a man of his purse and never bid him stand. Highwaymen defy, Mallow Lane men pretend justice. The very fragments of the rogueries of this lane"—does he refer to the butter scrapings, by fragments—"would feast

all the bites in the kingdom. That nursery of villainy should be suffered to continue no longer, but presented and removed as a nuisance. When honesty was sick in Hamflesh, she crawled to Mallow Lane to die, and gave her last groan among the butter-buyers."

William Boles, a true-blue Protestant, observes, "In this Coppersmith's remarks on Mallow Lane, he has blattered forth a crowd of general crimes, without entering into any particular. The single instance he gives of their roguery is notoriously false, though it might have been easy for Alexander to publish a hundred true ones!"

The present Weigh-House, or Butter Market, in Church Street, is under the exclusive management of the Committee of Merchants of Cork, a highly respectable body, who, at one time, regulated all civic affairs. They are now no more than a voluntary association, and possess no corporate charter as butter merchants. It is almost the invariable practice for the butter-buyers to advance money to the farmers or butter-sellers, who bring their butter to the merchant, by whom they are accommodated. This arrangement must more or less interfere with the independence of the trade, but it does not appear to work badly. A price is fixed on the various kinds of butter, at a sort of public auction of the butter-buyers. The butter is classed by the butter-tasters, who are employed at a salary of £200 a-year each, and whose characters are above suspicion. The butter is then branded, as *firsts*, *seconds*, *thirds*, *fourths* and *fifths*, as the case may be. The worst quality is called "*a bishop*," for what reason we cannot divine.

Bishop Brinkley, of Cloyne, wandered one morning into the Cork Butter Market, and inquired of one of the porters, to whom he was unknown, respecting the various classes of butter. "What do you call the best?" inquired Brinkley. "The first quality, your honor." "And the worst?" "The worst, your honor, is a bishop." "A *bishop*," said Brinkley, in surprise. "Now, may I ask you, my good fellow, why you call the worst a bishop?" "Bekase, your honor, a bishop is the very worst quality." "I see," said Brinkley, walking off.

The following is an account of all the butter which has passed through the Weigh-House, from 1770 to

Year ending	Casks.	Pirkins and Kegs.	Year ending	Casks.	Pirkins and Kegs.
May 8, 1770	..	105,809	May 8, 1791	16,475	197,633
„ 1771	..	144,516	„ 1792	16,020	203,677
„ 1772	14,658	161,345	„ 1793	21,411	211,548
„ 1773	14,418	153,646	„ 1794	16,477	179,958
„ 1774	13,801	178,136	„ 1795	16,031	121,631
„ 1775	7,052	214,246	„ 1796	17,037	202,643
„ 1776	8,710	181,219	„ 1797	21,374	198,953
„ 1777	14,234	193,296	„ 1798	21,737	201,267
„ 1778	16,552	167,937	„ 1799	18,538	184,657
„ 1779	24,751	173,865	„ 1800	17,138	166,111
„ 1780	20,326	220,917	„ 1801	16,455	157,906
„ 1781	18,827	230,644	„ 1802	19,664	217,073
„ 1782	21,064	221,688	„ 1803	21,383	252,898
„ 1783	19,576	205,145	„ 1804	19,551	204,495
„ 1784	16,835	178,611	„ 1805	18,950	202,055
„ 1785	18,580	193,178	„ 1806	17,467	220,708
„ 1786	18,481	172,998	„ 1807	14,882	241,593
„ 1787	23,068	225,921	„ 1808	13,255	208,025
„ 1788	31,655	231,371	„ 1809	..	219,790
„ 1789	25,608	204,030	„ 1810	..	230,647
„ 1790	17,011	179,448	„ 1811	..	234,481

Year ending	Firkins and Kegs.	Year ending	Firkins and Kegs.
8th May, 1812	259,995	30th April, 1837	250,435
„ 1813	253,932	„ 1838	238,400
„ 1814	279,032	„ 1839	255,645
„ 1815	251,678	„ 1840	236,033
„ 1816	261,385	„ 1841	222,765
„ 1817	268,544	„ 1842	229,696
„ 1818	231,495	„ 1843	265,765
„ 1819	244,035	„ 1844	287,711
„ 1820	306,670	„ 1845	254,873
„ 1821	314,573	„ 1846	272,198
30th April, 1822	283,307	„ 1847	253,361
„ 1823	236,250	31st March, 1848	275,857
„ 1824	249,395	„ 1849	327,449
„ 1825	234,847	„ 1850	342,259
„ 1826	243,791	1st March, 1851	306,626
„ 1827	274,599	„ 1852	344,501
„ 1828	291,893	„ 1853	318,851
„ 1829	302,207	„ 1854	338,903
„ 1830	277,947	„ 1855	370,645
„ 1831	249,596	„ 1856	400,594
„ 1832	240,663	„ 1857	401,836
„ 1833	264,003	„ 1858	401,881
„ 1834	271,198	„ 1859	431,462
„ 1835	279,553	„ 1860	391,239
„ 1836	278,557		

The Christian Brothers' Schools and Monastery are in Peacock Lane. This and the kindred institution in the south of the city, in Abbey Street, have done much for the instruction of the rising generation of Cork. The children get a good practical English education, which embraces not only reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography, but drawing, mathematics, and the use of the mechanical powers. There are four schools, containing about 1,000 each, in connexion with the two establishments. Gentlemen

of high mental culture, are still found willing to devote their lives to the noble duties of the schoolmaster. Gerald Griffin, the author of the "Collegians," and a number of other works, entered the Peacock Lane Monastery, and became a teacher in their schools. Here he died, June 12th, 1840, of consumption. He lies interred in the cemetery of the monastery, among ever-green shrubs and pleasant flowers,—as becomes a poet,—but it needs not shrubs nor flowers to keep his memory green and fragrant in the minds of his countrymen.

We now cross the opening or glen—called Blackpool, or the Watercourse—which cuts the chain of mountains on the northern side of the river. On Patrick's hill, which forms the eastern spur of the Glanmire ridge of hills, stands Barry's castle. The site is still pointed out on old maps. The castle is now called Audley House, and is in the possession of our respected fellow-citizen, Mr. Keane. On this side of the river lay the three cantreds of ground granted by Henry II. to Fitzstephen, which Fitzstephen left to his nephew, Philip de Barry, and which King John confirmed to William de Barry. The Barrymore property lies chiefly on the north bank of the river and harbour of Cork.

The Catholic Church of St. Patrick, on the Lower Glanmire Road, was erected in 1845 by the Right Rev. Doctor Murphy, Catholic Bishop of Cork. It is a handsome Grecian edifice, by no means unworthy of the refined taste of the architect, Mr. G. R. Paine.

* *Blackpool*, or *Dubhlinne*, is still significant of its original name. The Irish name was given to a part of the river *Liffey*, hence *Dublin*. The only black part of the *Liffey* is above Bloody Bridge. It is fast washing out its original defilement.

A Cork newspaper, when speaking of the new Scots' Church, says :—“ This beautiful structure, which is now rapidly approaching completion, will be, when finished, one of the handsomest public buildings in Cork, and, as the committee truly state in their circular, ‘ at once an ornament to the city, and a suitable edifice in which to celebrate the worship of God.’ The site is happily chosen, and presents, perhaps, the most favourable point that could be found in the most picturesque localities around the city. It is on the *plateau* below Belgrave Place, fronting King Street, directly overlooking and presenting commanding views for a long distance above and below, of

‘The pleasant waters of the river Lee.’

From the nature of the ground no future buildings can be erected to affect this position of the church, so that its architectural proportions will always be seen to the best advantage. The style adopted is the second period of Gothic ; the plan is slightly cruciform, having transepts projecting about five feet from the body of the building. A prominent feature of the exterior will be the tower and spire, rising to a height of one hundred and forty feet from the ground, the tower being crowned by an effective cornice, with gargoyles at the angles, from which springs the spire. The lower portion of the tower has a groined stone roof, and forms the principal entrance to the chapel, being protected by wrought iron gates.”

Higher up on the Glanmire Road, and just below the Barracks, is the pretty Church of St. Luke's. It is a chapel-of-ease to St. Anne's Shandon. It is

situated in the ancient parish of St. Brandon. The design is by G. R. Paine. This church was opened the 2nd of July, 1837. It has lately received a new eastern wing, which has greatly improved its sitting accommodation.

THE CORK BARRACKS occupy the crown of the hill to the north-west of St. Luke's Church. Mr. Windele says they occupy the site of an ancient entrenchment, called *Rath-Mor*, or the "Great Fort." The principal square is a splendid area. It contains accommodation for four regiments of infantry and 1,000 cavalry. It was first occupied in 1806. The panoramic view of the city and opposite hills, the river and its estuaries, from these heights is very beautiful. The view of the country from the northern side, including Blarney and its old castle, is very extensive ; displaying a great breadth of rich and well-cultivated land.

CHAPTER XVI.

GOVERNMENT OF CORK — LIST OF MAYORS AND SHERIFFS —
STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS — HARBOUR BOARD — CUSTOMS.

A.D.

CORK, from an early period, had its governors appointed by the crown, as well as its mayors appointed by the corporation ; and these governors, from the strong castle of Shandon, or Cat or Elizabeth fort, managed to govern the citizens as well as the soldiers.

The proper jurisdiction and prerogatives of the mayor of Cork were not properly defined till 1843, by the act 3 and 4 of Victoria, cap. 9, by which “that part of the county of the city of Cork, not within the municipal boundaries of the borough of Cork, was constituted a barony in itself ; and for grand jury, civil and commercial purposes, a part of the county of Cork.”

In the following document we find Mountiford Longfield and Noblett Johnson styled governors of the county and city of Cork, of which Noblett Johnson subscribes himself mayor :—

“ Know all men, that we, Mountiford Longfield, Esq., and the Right Worshipful Noblett Johnson, Mayor of Cork, Governors of the County and City of Cork, by virtue of the authority to us given by a certain act of parliament, passed in the forty-ninth year of the reign of his present majesty, entitled, ‘ An act for amending and

reducing into one act of parliament the several laws for raising and training the militia of Ireland,' and of all other authorities, me, thereunto enabling, have constituted and appointed, and by these presents do constitute and appoint William Johnson, of the said city, Esquire, to be a Deputy-Governor of the said County of the City of Cork, to have and to hold the said office of Deputy-Governor, with all privileges and authorities thereunto belonging; the name of the said William Johnson having been first presented to, and not disapproved of, by his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, and the said William Johnson having delivered to the Clerk of the Peace a description of his qualification, pursuant to the said act. In witness, whereof, we have hereunto set our handwriting-seals, this twenty-third day of July, 1810.

“ MOUNTIFORD LONGFIELD, Colonel,
City of Cork () Regt. of Militia.
NOBLETT JOHNSON,
Mayor and Governor.

“ William Johnson, Esq., to be Deputy-Governor of the County of the City of Cork.”

The city is now governed by a Mayor and Town Council. According to the Municipal Act, 3 and 4 Victoria, cap. 108, the Town Council consists of sixty-four members, who are elected by eight wards, into which the city is divided. Each ward elects eight members, and the two in each ward who have the most votes, become aldermen, which gives sixteen aldermen. One-third of the council go out annually, and half of the aldermen triennially. The mayor is elected by the council on the 1st of November, and becomes, ex officio, a justice of the peace for the city. The new act came into operation in 1841, when, to use the words of Mr. Windele, “ the choice of the first mayor, under the new system, fell upon one of the best and worthiest of citizens, Thomas Lyons, Esq., who im-

mediately after his election, was chaired through the city."

CHIEF MAGISTRATES OF THE CITY OF CORK.

PROVOSTS.

1190 John Dispenser 1249 Eliah Stackpole 1252 Walter Wright
1236 Walter Eynoff 1251 J. Wenchedon

MAYORS.

1272 Richard Morren 1330 Nich. Morraine 1360 Percl. Vincent
1273 Richard Wine 1331 Rd. Postwind 1361 Percl. Vincent
1274 Richard Lee 1332 Richd. Leleigh 1362 Wm. Drooper
1279 Walter Tardiff 1333 Richd. Leleigh 1363 Adam Ruth
1281 Walter Rute 1334 Robt. Lebolout 1364 William Skiddy
1285 Peter Russel 1335 B. de Montibus 1365 William Skiddy
1287 William Pollard 1336 John Wedlock 1366 Percl. Vincent
1290 Walter Tardiff 1337 John d'Espencer 1367 William Skiddy
1291 Walter O'Heyn 1338 John de Bristol 1368 Jordan Kerdiff
1293 John Lavallen 1339 J. Fitz-Abraham 1369 Wm. Drooper
1310 John Walters 1340 D. de Montibus 1370 John Leblown
1311 William Bond 1341 Peter Rashall 1371 John Leblown
1312 Nich de la Weily 1342 E. de Stackpole 1372 Thomas Thish
1313 Wm. Hadvivre 1343 Walter Reisch 1373 Wm. Drooper
1314 Walt. de Kerdiff 1344 William Pollard 1374 Wm. Downane
1315 Nich. O'Heyne 1345 William Pollard 1375 Thomas Thish
1316 John de Ligre 1346 Walt. de Kerdiff 1376 Wm. Drooper
1317 N. de la Weily 1347 Wm. O'Heyne 1377 Wm. Downane
1318 A. Milksbury 1348 John Wallen 1378 Thomas Thish
1319 S. Coppenger 1349 W.deWandespar 1379 David Miagh
1320 Richd. Delahoid 1350 Walt. de Kerdiff 1380 John Lombard
1321 A. de Stackpole 1351 Nich. O'Heyne 1381 David Miagh
1322 Walter Reisch 1352 N. Delahoyde 1382 Robert Drooper
1323 Gilbert Monk 1353 Walt. de Kerdiff 1383 John Mynne
1324 J. le Dispenser 1354 Percl. Vincent 1384 John Mynne
1325 Richd. Morraine 1355 John Gallenger 1385 John Mynne
1326 Edw. de Tailour 1356 Walt. de Kerdiff 1386 Robert Drooper
1327 Roger Tryal 1357 John Gallenger 1387 John Malby
1328 Roger le Blon 1358 Adam Ruth 1388 John Malby
1329 William Albus 1359 Walt. de Kerdiff 1389 John Lombard

1390 William Polrnt	1429 Godfry Waile	1469 John Mezca
1391 Redm. Kerrick	1430 Geoff. Gallway	1470 Richard Skiddy
1392 A. Stackpole	1431 William Anasey	1471 John Gallway
1393 Redm. Kerrick	1432 William Anasey	1472 Wm. Gallway
1394 Robt. Flemming	1433 John Menia	1473 Thos. Murrough
1395 John Warriner	1435 John Murrough	1474 William Skiddy
1396 T. Honybeard	1436 G. Gallway	1475 Richd. Lavallen
1397 Thos. Burdeys	1437 John Murrough	1476 John Gallway
1398 John Warriner	1438 John Skiddy	1477 Wm. Gallway
1399 John Mainen	1439 John Skiddy	1478 Richard Skiddy
1400 John Knap	1440 John Meagh	1479 William Skiddy
1401 Richd. Lavallen	1441 John Morrough	1480 William Skiddy
1402 William Sughin	1442 William Gold	1481 Wm. Gallway
1403 John Benefiat	1443 William Gold	1482 Richd. Gallway
1404 John Skiddy	1444 John Murrough	1483 Wm. Gallway
1405 John Lignee	1445 John Gold	1484 William Skiddy
1406 William Sughin	1446 Richard Skiddy	1485 Patk. Gallway
1407 John Wright	1447 John Gold	1486 Wm. Gallway
1408 William Sughin	1448 Patk. Gallway	1487 William Skiddy
1409 Thomas Morton	1449 John Gallway	1488 Maurice Roche
1410 John Warner	1450 Richard Skiddy	1489 Wm. Gallway
1411 Thos. Murrough	1451 John Gold	1490 John Walters
1412 T. Mordonton	1452 Richard Skiddy	1491 Maurice Roche
1413 Patrick Rice	1453 Wm. Gallway	1492 John Lavallen
1414 Thos. Mollenton	1454 William Skiddy	1493 William Gold
1415 Robert Gardiner	1455 Richd. Lavallen	1494 John Walters
1416 Robert Gardiner	1456 Wm. Gallway	1495 Thos. Coppinger
1417 Robert Gardiner	1457 Richard Skiddy	1496 John Lavallin
1418 Robert Gardiner	1458 William Skiddy	1497 Maurice Roche
1419 Thos. Mollenton	1459 Patk. Gallway	1498 John Lavallin
1420 Thos. Mollenton	1460 Thos. Murrough	1499 John Walters
1421 Robt. Bordener	1461 Richard Skiddy	1500 Maurice Roche
1422 Thos. Mollenton	1462 John Gallway	1501 William Gold
1423 Pierce Drooper	1463 William Gold	1502 Wm. Gallway
1424 Robert Gardiner	1464 John Gold	1503 Edmund Gold
1425 D. Landebrook	1465 John Skiddy	1504 John Gallway
1426 Geoffrey White	1466 Richard Skiddy	1505 William Terry
1427 D. Landebrook	1467 John Meagh	1506 William Skiddy
1428 Edward Dantz	1468 Godfry Naiole	1507 John Skiddy

1508 Richd. Gallway	1542 Wm. Sarsfield	1576 William Roche
1509 Edm. Gallway	1543 William Skiddy	1577 John Gold
1510 Edmund Gold	1544 James Gold	1578 Walter Gallway
1511 Edmund Terry	1545 Richard Gold	1579 Maurice Roche
1512 John Gallway	1546 William Gold	1580 Thomas Sarsfield
1513 John Roche	1547 William Gold	1581 Christ. Walters
1514 Edmund Terry	1548 Patrick Meagh	1582 Patk. Gallway
1515 Richard Skiddy	1549 Thos. Ronayne	1583 James Roche
1516 Walt. Gallway	1550 Dominick Roche	1584 George Gold
1517 John Skiddy	1551 William Terry	1585 Stephen Walters
1518 Nicholas Skiddy	1552 James Roche	1586 Stephen Terry
1519 Patrick Terry	1553 Patk. Gallway	1587 Robt. Coppinger
1520 Edmund Roche	1554 James Gold	1588 Edmund Terry
1521 David Terry	1555 Christ. Meagh	1589 John Skiddy
1522 Richard Gold	1556 Wm. Sarsfield	1590 Dominick Roche
1523 Maurice Roche	1557 William Skiddy	1591 David Terry
1524 Edmund Gold	1558 Dominick Roche	1592 Henry Walsh
1525 William Terry	1559 Edmund Gold	1593 Patk. Gallway
1526 John Skiddy	1560 Edw. Gallway	1594 Francis Martel
1527 Walt. Gallway	1561 John Gallway	1595 James Meagh
1528 John Skiddy	1562 A. Gallway	1596 Patk. Gallway
1529 Patrick Terry	1563 Maurice Roche	1597 George Gold
1530 Edmund Roche	1564 S. Coppinger	1598 John Skiddy
1531 Richard Gold	1565 Richard Roche	1599 James Sarsfield
1532 Patk. Gallway	1566 Wm. Gallway	1600 William Mead
1533 David Roche	1567 Edmund Gold	1601 John Mead
1534 James Gold	1568 John Gallway	1602 John Coppinger
1535 Wm. Coppinger	1569 A. Gallway	1603 Thomas Sarsfield
1536 Robert Meagh	1570 John Meagh	1604 Edmund Terry
1537 Thos. Ronayne	1571 Maurice Roche	1605 Robt. Coppinger
1538 William Terry	1572 S. Coppinger	1606 Wm. Sarsfield
1539 James Roche	1573 John Walters	1607 Philip Martel
1540 Richard Terry	1574 William Terry	1608 David Terry
1541 Christ. Creagh	1575 James Ronayne	1609 Dominick Roche

I cannot vouch for the perfect correctness of the following list of mayors and sheriffs, but it is as correct as I can make it:—

MAYORS.

SHERIFFS.

- 1610 Edmond Gallwey, Edward Roche, Henry Gould Fitz-Piers
Oct., 1609
- 1611 George Gold Fitz- Dominick Tyrry Fitz-Edmond, Andrew
Edmond, Oct. 1, 1610 Gallwey Fitz-Walter
- 1612 Domk. Tyrry Fitz- Stephen Miagh Fitz-Garrett, Patrick
Edmond, Sept. Lawallyne Fitz-Richard
30, 1611
- Dominick Gallwey, Nicholas Roche, *who died in office, and*
Jan 31, 1611 *was succeeded by* Ed. Roche Fitz-John
- 1613 Wm. Skiddy Fitz- George Lombard, George Morrogh
John, Oct. 1, 1612
- 1613 Patrick Tyrry Fitz- John Collinayne, Maurice Kynt
William, Jan. 13, 1612
- 1614 D. T. Fitz-David, Edmond Gold Fitz-George, Philip
Oct. 6, 1613 Pouch Fitz-John
- E. T. Fitz-Edmond, Adam Gold Fitz-Patrick, Christopher
Jan. 13, 1613 Gallwey
- 1615 W. G. Fitz-George, Edmond Gold Fitz-Henry, Nicholas
Oct. 3, 1614 Lombard Fitz-James
- 1616 G. T. Fitz-Edmond, Dominick Roche Fitz-James
Oct. 2, 1615 John Gallwey, James Gold
- John C. Fitz-John, Maurice Roche Fitz-James, Thomas
Jan. 31, 1615 Martell Fitz-Philip
- 1617 Patrick Tyrry, July John Coppinger Fitz-John, William
20, 1616 Gallwey Fitz-Edmond
- 1618 W. G. Fitz-George, Thomas Morly, Lancelot Teape
Oct. 6, 1617
- 1619 J. Coppinger Fitz- Robert Glover, Richard Cooke
John, Oct. 5, 1618
- 1620 W. T. Fitz-Richard. John Ghilbert, Robert Myntren
- 1621 A. S. Fitz-William, Henry Roberts, Richard Rowse
Oct. 2, 1620
- 1622 J. Coppinger, Jun., John Addis, John Tucker
Oct. 1, 1621
- 1623 J. R. Fitz-Patrick, Richard Connell, Edmond Murphy
Sept. 30, 1622
- 1624 J. Roche, Sept. 6, 1623 James Lombard, James Kearney

- 1625 H. Gold Fitz-Adam, John Miagh Fitz-Henry, Richd. Hallyn
Oct. 4, 1624 Fitz-Robert
- 1626 E. M. Fitz-Philip, Stephen Martell, David Lombard Fitz-
Oct. 3, 1625 James
- 1627 Wm. Hore, Oct. 2, John Gold Fitz-James, James Mathew
1626 Fitz-James
- 1628 D. T. Fitz-Edmond, Stephen Gould, James Fitz-Gerald
Oct. 1, 1627
- 1629 Jas. Murroghe, Oct. Maurice Roche Fitz-Patrick, Melcher
6, 1628 Lavallin
- 1630 Thomas Ronayne.. W. T. Fitz-George, T. Fitz-John-Gerald
- 1631 Maurice Roche, Oct. Nicholas Skiddy, Patrick Drady
4, 1630
- 1632 J. G. Fitz-Patrick, Richard Tirry, John Drady
Oct. 3, 1631
- 1633 W. R. Fitz-Domin- Robert Coppinger, Edward Gould
ick, Oct. 1, 1632
- 1634 Richd. Roche, Sept. Robert Verdon, Dominick Tirry
30, 1633
- 1635 Thos. Martell, Oct. James Roche Fitz-Patrick, William
6, 1634 Kearney
- 1636 Robert Miagh, Oct. William White, Dominick Morrogh
5, 1635
- 1637 David Meade, Oct. Patrick Arthur, William Verdon
3, 1636
- 1638 Patrick Lavalin, Thomas Sarsfield, William Tirry
Aug. 18, 1637
- 1639 T. Sarsfield, Aug. James Fitz-Patrick Sarsfield, James
21, 1639 Fitz-David Gould
- 1640 T. Fitz-Geo. Goold, Stephen Coppinger, John Fitz-Maurice
Sept. 3, 1639 Roche
- 1641 Melcher Lavallin, George Tirry Fitz-William, Philip
Oct. 5, 1640 Martell Fitz-Edward
- 1642 M. R. Fitz-Patrick, Francis Roche, Edmond Roche
Nov. 1, 1641
- 1643 John Roche Fitz- R. Galwey, P. Roche; *the latter having*
Maurice, Oct. 3, 1631 *died before he was sworn, R. T. Fitz-*
- 1644 Robert Coppinger *Robert was elected, on the 18th day of*
- 1645 James Lombard *October, in his stead*

1656 John Hodder *	..	William Hodder, Philip Mathews
1657 William Hodder	..	Richard Covett, Timothy Tuckey
1658 Philip Mathews	..	Richard Basset, John Bayley
1659 Jonas Morris	..	Richard Lane, Noblet Dunscombe
1660 Chris. Oliver	..	Thomas Farren, John Flynn
1661 Walt. Cooper	..	Christopher Rye, Nicholas King
1662 Rich. Covett	..	Robert Williams, Thomas Crook
1663 James Vandeluer	..	William French, Richard Purdon
1664 Rich. Basset	..	James Finch, Mathew Deane
1665 Noblet Dunscombe		John Newenham, Patrick Ronayne
1666 Thos. Farren	..	John Hawkins, Timothy Tuckey
1667 Christopher Rye	..	Thomas Mill, George Wright
1668 Christopher Rye	..	Thomas Kitchenman, Robert Fletcher
1669 Mathew Deane	..	William Field, Richard Harvey
1670 James Finch	..	William Wren, Thomas Walker
1671 Jn. Newenham	..	Jonathan Perry, John Bayley
1672 John Hawkins	..	Thomas Franklin, John Terry
1673 Thomas Mills	..	James Mills, Thomas Wills
1674 John Bayley	..	Robert Rogers, William Hull
1675 Geo. Wright	..	John Wright, Edward Webber
1676 William Field	..	Edward Youd, John Sealy
1677 Timothy Tuckey	..	William Allen, Christopher Crofts
1678 Thos. Kitchenman		William Maleborne, Richard Terry
1679 John Bayley	..	William Ballard, William Howell
1680 Robert Rogers	..	Randal Hull, Henry Gerald
1681 William Alwin	...	Thomas Croneen, Stephen Cook
1682 Richard Covett	..	William Charters, Eleazer Lavers
1683 John Wright	..	Zachariah Coke, Samuel Bayley
1684 Edward Webber	..	Edward Hoare, John Bayley
1685 Christopher Crofts		Daniel Crone, John Champion
1686 Edward Hoare	..	Thomas Browne, Edward Tucker
1687 † William Ballard		William Coppinger, William White
1688 Patrick Roche	..	Bat. French, Thomas Morrough
1689 Dominick Sarsfield		Patrick Meade, Patrick Nagle

* For ten years there were no civil magistrates, it being the period of Cromwell's usurpation. In the year 1655, Sir William Fenton, and four others, who were ancient freemen of the city, met together and elected John Hodder, Mayor, and William Hodder and Philip Mathews, Sheriffs. Since this time all the offices of the Corporation have been filled by Protestants.

† 1687.—Ignatius Gould was also mayor this year, for James II.

1690 William Ballard ..	William Roberts, William Green
1691 Daniel Crone ..	Peter Renew, Samuel Love
1692 William Charters ..	John Whiting, Richard Slocomb
1693 William Howell ..	James French, Simon Dring
1694 Peter Renew ..	John Raynes, William Goddard
1695 Samuel Love ..	Ed. Knap, Jonathan Tressilion
1696 Jas. French ..	Theoph. Morice, Ferd. Penington
1697 William Roberts ..	Richard Crab, Thomas Kinsmell
1698 William Goddard ..	William Andrews, Edward Yeamans
1699 Theo. Morris ..	Barth. Taylor, John Allen
1700 John Sealy ..	Joseph Ruddock, Fr. Cotterel
1701 Simon Dring ..	Joseph Franklin, Bern. Poye
1702 John Whiting ..	William Masters, Abraham Watkins
1703 Edm. Knapp ..	Mathias Smith, Edward Brown
1704 William Andrews ..	Daniel Perdriau, Rowl. Delahoyde
1705 Fras. Cotterel ..	William Cockeril, Daniel Pierce
1706 Bernard Poye ..	Noblet Rogers, Patrick Hamilton
1707 Jos. Franklin ..	Edward Hoare, John Hawkins
1708 Row. Delahoyde ..	William Lambley, James Morison
1709 Noblet Rogers ..	Richard Phillips, Samuel Wilson
1710 Edward Hoare ..	Thomas Barry, Samuel Ablin
1711 Richard Philips ...	John Terry, Richard Abdis
1712 Daniel Perdriau ..	Philip French, Anthony Goss
1713 John Allen ..	Abraham French, Joseph Lavite
1714 Edward Browne ..	John Morison, Hugh Millard
1715 Philip French ..	John Morley, Francis Power
1716 William Lambley ..	Thomas Shears, Thomas Brown
1717 Abraham French ..	William Hawkins, Charles Cotterel
1718 John Morley ..	Edw. Brocklesby, Joseph Austin
1719 John Terry ..	John Maunsel, George Fuller
1720 Joseph Lavite ..	Samuel Croker, James Farrcant
1721 William Hawkins ..	William Ougan, Augustus Carré
1722 Dan. Pierce ..	Robert Atkins, George Bennet
1723 Ed. Brocklesby ..	Amb. Cramer, James Hulet
1724 Geo. Bennet ..	Francis Rowland, Thomas Pembr
1725 Amb. Cramer ..	William Bustead, John Franklin
1726 Robert Atkins ..	James Crook, Ambrose Jackson
1727 Thomas Brown ..	John Atkins, William Lane
1728 Hugh Millard ..	Dan. Engane, Thomas Austin

John Atkins	..	Francis Healy, Harding Parker
Jos. Austin	..	Whetenhal Hignet, John Baldwin
James Hulet	..	James Piercy, Robert Travers
Sam. Croker	..	Wm. Newenham, Adam Newman
Thomas Pembroke		Robert Dring, Walter Lavite
Geo. Fuller	..	Thomas Farren, Wm. Delahoyde
Amb. Jackson	..	William Fuller, Thomas Brown
Thomas Farren	..	Daniel Crone, Richard Bradshaw
John Baldwin	..	Christ. Carleton, Hor. Townsend
Adam Newman	..	Randal Westropp, Nath. Barry
William Fuller	..	John Terry, Neblet Philips
Harding Parker	..	George Fuller, William Clarke
Richard Bradshaw		William Taylor, William Winthrop
Wm. Owgans	..	Mathias Smith, Hugh Millard
Randal Westrop	..	Robert Wrixon, William Harding
Villiam Winthrop		Sir Richard Cox, bart., Usher Philpot
Villiam Lavite	..	Nicholas Ford, David Bruce
Villiam Taylor	..	Phineas Bury, William Holmes
Hugh Milliard	..	William Busteed, George Hodder
Dan. Crone	..	James Chatterton, Hugh Reily
Villiam Holmes	..	John Webb, John Swete
Robert Wrixon	..	Sir J. Freke, bart., R. Newenham
Villiam Busteed	..	Francis Carleton, Hugh Swayne
Mathias Smith	..	John Wrixon, Stephen Denroche
Sir J. Freke, bart.		John Cossart, Kevan Izod
George Hodder	..	John Smith, Jos. Witheral
John Reily	..	Samuel Maylor, Godfrey Baker
Wm. Harding	..	Thomas Newenham, John Roe
Sher Philpott	..	Boyle Travers, P. Westropp
John Swete	..	W. Parks, Christ. Collis
Phineas Bury	..	Andrew Franklin, Dan Connor
Joseph Witheral	..	H. Harding, Thomas Owgan
Andrew Franklin	..	W. Fitton, James Morrison
John Wrixon	..	Walter Travers, Robert Lane
John Smith	..	Francis Rowland, William Coles
Boyle Travers	..	Henry Wrixon, William Butler
Villiam Parks	..	Sam. Rowland, W. Wilcocks
Wm. Maylor	..	John Travers, John Harding
Is. Chatterton	..	S. Twogood French, H. Lawton

1768 Noble Phillips ..	Sober Kent, Richard Lloyd
1769 Godfrey Baker ..	Benjamin Bousfield, Richard Kellet
1770 Christ. Collis ..	Peter Cossart, Jasper Lucas
1771 John Webb ..	John Wrixon, Henry Puxley
1772 John Roe ..	Richard Harris, John Franklin
1773 Francis Rowland ..	Kingsmill Berry, Francis Carleton,
1774 John Travers ..	Thomas Fuller, Philip Bennet
1775 William Butler ..	W. Lawton, M. R. Westropp, C. Denre
1776 Hugh Lawton ..	John Day, William Leycester
1777 Thomas Owgan ..	Thomas Harding, Richard Lane
1778 Palms Westropp ..	Christopher Lawton, Richard Purce
1779 John Harding ..	Michael Busteed, Vesian Pick
1780 Frs. Carleton ..	James Kingston, Aylmer Allen
1781 Walter Travers ..	R. Hutchinson, Peter Dumas
1782 Sober Kent ..	John Thompson, J. Lindsay
1783 Richard Kellet ..	John Shaw, Thomas Waggett
1784 James Morrisson ..	Philip Allen, Humphrey Crowley
1785 Sir John Franklin	William Lumley, Henry Sadleir
1786 Sir Samuel Rowland	Christopher Allen, Christopher Wag
1787 James Kingston ..	Rowland Morrisson, Jeff. Piercy
1788 Richard Purcell ..	J. Herbert Orpen, Paul Maylor
1789 H. Harding, <i>died.</i>	Thomas Harding, jun., N. Johnson
<i>Succeeded by Humphry</i>	
<i>Crowly</i>	
1790 Richard Harris ..	C. Ferguson, Sir H. B. Hayes
1791 Henry Puxley ..	James Sadleir, Thomas Dorman
1792 John Shaw ..	William Clerke, John Forster
1793 William Wilcocks	Charles Evanson, William Lane
1794 John Thompson ..	David Perrier, <i>Knighted while in o</i>
<i>Henry Bagnell</i>	
1795 Jasper Lucas ..	Strettel Jackson, Michael Wood
1796 V. Pick, <i>Knighted</i>	Thomas Gibbings, Edward Allen
<i>while in office</i>	
1797 Kingsmill Berry ..	Robert Harding, John Cuthbert, ju
1798 Philip Bennett ..	Abraham Lane, Isaac Jones
1799 Michael Busteed ..	Thomas Pope, Richard Digby
1800 Philip Allen ..	Henry Hickman, William Lane
1801 Michl. R. Westropp	John George Newsom, J. N. Wrix
1802 Richard Lane ..	Thomas Dunscombe, Christopher C

- 1803 C. Allen, *died.* *Succeeded by* T. Waggett John Cotter, jun., William Busteed
- 1804 Charles Evanson .. Peter Besnard, George Knapp
- 1805 Rowland Morrison Richard N. Parker, Richard Maguire
- 1806 John Day .. Richard Lane, Charles Cole
- 1807 Thomas Harding.. Joseph Leycester, George S. Waggett
- 1808 John Forster .. Wm. Jameson, jun., Anthony Perrier,
Knighted while in office
- 1809 Noblet Johnson .. Thomas Harris, John D. Church
- 1810 Paul Maylor .. Robert Deane, J. Besnard, jun.
- 1811 Thomas Dorman .. Edward Newsom, James Lane
- 1812 Peter Dumas .. Bartholomew Gibbings, Francis Hodder
- 1813 Sir D. Perrier, knt. Joseph Garde, Henry Bagnell, jun.
- 1814 John Geo. Newsom, Henry Bennett, William Johnson
- 1815 Henry Sadleir .. Thomas Deane, William Lucas
- 1816 Edward Allen .. Charles Perry, Charles Evanson
- 1817 Thomas Gibbings.. J. W. Newsom, Samuel Lane
- 1818 Richard Digby .. H. B. Westropp, T. F. Harrison
- 1819 Isaac Jones .. William Preston White, George Atkins
- 1820 Sir A. Perrier .. Lionel J. Westropp, T. P. Boland
- 1821 Edward Newsom.. Isaac Morgan, R. Leycester
- 1822 Henry Bagnell .. John Saunders, Julius Besnard
- 1823 Barthw Gibbings.. William Crofts, Robert Lawe
- 1824 J. N. Wrixon .. Edward Colburne, John Bagnell
- 1825 T. F. Harrison .. George Newsom, Andrew Spearing
- 1826 Richd. N. Parker.. John Wallis, William J. Jones
- 1827 Thos. Dunscombe.. Robert Evory, Osborne Savage
- 1828 Thomas Pope .. Samuel Perry, jun., J. J. Cummins
- 1829 George Knapp .. James Wallis, Nicholas Vincent
- 1830 Joseph Garde .. George W. Foott, Thomas Deane,
Knighted while in office
- 1831 John Besnard .. Aylmer Richard Martin, William John
- 1832 Joseph Leycester Charles E. Hardy, Wm. Lumley Perrier
- 1833 Charles Perry .. Randal Howe, Aylmer Allen
- 1834 Richard Lane, *died.* William White. *Knighted while in office.*
Succeeded by A. Spearing George Foott
- 1835 Peter Besnard .. William Rogers, J. B. Ballard
- 1836 John Saunders .. James C. Perry, Richard B. Tooker
- 1837 John Bagnell .. Robert Vincent, George F. Sadleir

1838	Lionel J. Westropp	Thomas Exham, Nicholas Cummins
1839	James Lane ..	George Newsom, William Harris
1840	Julius Besnard ...	Ben. Deeble, Jas. Dowman
1841	Thomas Lyons ..	—————
1842	F. B. Beamish ..	Sir George Goold, bart.*
1843		James Morgan
1844	William Fagan ..	William Kissane Rogers
1845	Rd. Dowden (Rd.)	James Morrough
1846	Andrew F. Roche	David Leahy Arthur
1847	Edward Hackett ..	Jer. Stack Murphy
1848	William Lyons ..	Thos. Summerville Reeves
1849	Same. <i>Knighted</i> .	Thomas R. Sarsfield
1850	John Shea ..	Wm. Wrixon Lyecester
1851	James Lambkin	Sir Thomas Deane
1852	Wm. Hackett. <i>Kntd.</i>	Francis B. Beamish
1853	John F. Maguire	Andrew G. Wood
1854	John N. Murphy	Francis Lyons
1855	John Gordon. <i>Kntd.</i>	North Ludlow Beamish
1856	William Fitzgibbon	Sir William Lyons
1857	Same	John Nicholas Murphy
1858	Daniel Donegan ..	Godfrey Thomas Baker
1859	John Arnott ..	William Horatio Crawford
1860	Same. <i>Knighted</i>	Francis Robert Leahy
1861	Same ..	William Johnson

Since the Reformed Corporation act of 3 Victoria, there was an act to amend this passed the 24th of August, 1843, which requires that the voting burgesses shall be rated at five pounds, and the elected member at twenty pounds.

By the Cork improvement act of 1851, the office of Treasurer of the county of the city of Cork was abolished.

There was an act passed in June, 1856, to enable the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Cork to remove certain bridges, build new ones, and confirm certain

* *Sir George Goold, bart.*—The practice of electing two sheriffs for the city was abolished by 3 & 4 Victoria, and the appointment of one vested in the crown.

arrangements with the pipe-water trustees, and to alter, amend, and enlarge certain powers and provisions of the Cork improvement act of 1852. The new act commences thus :

“Whereas the bridge in the borough of Cork, known as St. Patrick’s bridge, was by a flood in the river Lee, on the 2nd day of November, partially destroyed; and whereas it is expedient that the mayor, aldermen and burgesses of the borough be enabled to remove the remaining portions of that bridge, and instead thereof, to build a new bridge over the said river in the borough, at or near the site of that bridge. And whereas the bridge in the borough, known as Northgate bridge, as at present constructed, interferes with the free flow of the said river Lee, and is the cause of constant floods in the upper and middle districts of the borough; and whereas it is expedient that the corporation be enabled to remove the said Northgate bridge, and instead of that bridge, to build a new bridge over the said river, in the borough at or near the site of that bridge”—

It was by the authority of this act that the corporation purchased the shares of the Pipe Water Trustees, and now levies a public or domestic water rate. St. Patrick’s bridge is in course of erection, but we hear nothing as yet of the removal of the Northgate bridge; but Rome was not built in a day, and much has been done of late years by the corporation for the improvement of the city. The following is the sum total of the receipts of the various departments of the corporation, from 1st September, 1859, to 1860 :—

Borough Fund,	-	-	£12798	12	7
General Purpose Fund,	-	-	10856	17	11
Improvement Fund,	-	-	14833	8	9
Pipe Water Fund,	-	-	2063	18	6
Pipe Water Revenue Account,	-	-	6863	15	11
Bridge Fund,	-	-	7481	1	11
Total,			£54,887	15	7

The following is the statement of cash balances to the 31st of August, 1860 :—

	Dr.	Cr.
Borough Fund, -	—	£3900 5 2
General Purpose Fund, 111 1 2		—
Improvement Fund, 212 6 10		—
Pipe Water Fund, 807 5 10		—
Pipe Water Revenue, 3025 1 4		—
Bridge Fund, -	—	1286 8 11
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£4155 15 2	£5186 14 8

The City Treasurer says, writing April 11, 1861, "I don't believe there is any corporation in Ireland in such a flourishing condition. The corporation of Cork contrasts most favorably with those of Dublin and Belfast. The rates levied off the city of Cork have not been so low for the past twenty years as during the last twelve months; and, notwithstanding that the city has extended and *increased* during the period mentioned, nevertheless, the city rates have *annually decreased*. "As regards our improvement rate we have power to levy 5s. in the pound per annum, and during the past year it has been only 2s. in the pound, or £16,200 under our maximum rating power on the whole area of taxation. We have power, also, to levy a 'borough rate,' and we have not hitherto availed of it. The debt occasioned by the Water Works will be reduced out of the water rates, by about one thousand pounds per annum. This can scarcely be looked upon in the light of a debt on the city, the citizens getting an abundant supply of the purest water on the most economical terms."

BOROUGH FUNDS.

D E B T S.

Borough Fund—		
Bonds debt	\$6,806	3 0
City Park—balance of debt payable by half-yearly instalments of \$229 10s. 8d.	3,443	0 0
Total debt on this Fund	\$9,249	3 0
IMPROVEMENT FUND—		
Wide Street Debenture debt,	\$29,438	9 3
Mortgages for Improvement Rate purposes	6,768	14 8
Ditto for purchase of Pipe Water Company's shares, chargeable to this Fund ...	18,875	0 0
Ditto on account of rebuilding St. Patrick's Bridge, chargeable to this Fund	12,900	0 0
Total debt on this Fund	61,972	3 11
PIPE WATER FUND—		
Mortgages issued for extension of works	44,460	0 0
GENERAL PURPOSES FUND—		
Lunatic Asylum—balance of debt due on Building Fund, repayable by half-yearly instalments of \$376 13s. 10d.	7,910	10 6
Total Debt,	\$123,681	17 6

A S S E T S.

PIPE WATER FUND—		
Out of the total debts may fairly be deducted the cost of the Water Works, say ...	\$68,325	0 0
IMPROVEMENT FUND—		
Due by late liberties, and applied by instalments of \$400 a-year to the redemption of the Wide Street Debenture debt	6,000	0 0
Surplus Annual Revenue of the Borough Fund, derivable from Rents, Tolls, Market Dues, &c., &c., \$23,000, say at 20 years' purchase,	60,000	0 0
Nett debt,	123,325	0 0
Total Assets,	\$123,681	17 6

The revenues of the city about the year 1750 were as follows :—

Fee-farm rents, - - -	£343 19 8½
Leases for years, - - -	73 0 0
Tolls or Gateage, - - -	600 0 0
Shambles, - - -	140 0 0
For standing of pedlars, - - -	50 0 0
Paid by water-bailiffs, - - -	80 0 0
	<hr/>
	£1286 19 8½

The following is Smith's list of the salaries of the officer's of the city, irrespective of "a guinea for each sermon on state days," twenty pounds per annum to reduced widows of aldermen, and fifteen pounds to reduced widows of burgesses.

The Mayor's salary has been of late years, . . .	£500 0 0
That of the Recorder, . . .	60 0 0
The Chamberlain, . . .	30 0 0
A Sword-bearer, . . .	10 0 0
The City Surveyor, . . .	20 0 0
Two serjeants at mace, to attend the mayor, each £5, . . .	10 0 0
Two bellmen, £8 each per annum, and for the } clothing £6 each, . . .	28 0 0
Keeper of the Exchange, . . .	6 0 0
Keeper of the city clocks, . . .	5 0 0
The city pays ground rent for the Exchange, which } is payable to the Roches for the site of Golden } Castle, that stood where the Exchange is built, } and the same family has another castle in Shan- } don Castle Lane, called Short Castle, . . .	20 0 0
For guard-room for officers, . . .	8 0 0
For judges' lodgings, . . .	5 0 0
For fire and candles for city guard, . . .	20 0 0
To captain of the halbardiers, . . .	4 12 0
	<hr/>
	£726 12 0

The Cork Harbour Commissioners constitute the most important board in connexion with the Corpora-

tion, if we can say it is in connexion with a body of which it is perfectly independent. The Cork Harbour Commissioners are appointed under a local act of 1st George IV., chapter 52, 1820. They are thirty-four in number. The two members of Parliament, and the Mayor, and Sheriff of the city of Cork are *ex-officio* members. The remaining thirty are elected by the Town Council of the Corporation of Cork—five from their own body and twenty-five from the public at large. The qualification of a Harbour Commissioner is real estate of the annual value of £30, or personal estate to the value of £1,000. They are the conservators of the port, and possess a general control over the shipping, boat-traffic, and quayage. They appoint harbour masters, who have extensive powers. They are a ballast-board, and, as a pilotage authority, nominate and control the pilots.

Their produce on imports this year is £7,383 12s. 9d. The largest items are—wheat, 262,653 quarters; Indian corn, 187,673 quarters; tea, 9,321 chests; deals, 233,600; and staves, 535,702.

The produce of exports amounts to £2,977 10s. 8d. The principal items are—butter, eggs, bacon, pigs, sheep, cows, calves, wheat, oats, barley, Indian corn, flour, whiskey, and gunpowder. The total receipts of the Harbour Board, from all sources, amount to £19,608 15s. 1d.

The income of the Harbour Commissioners is expended in deepening the river, improving the quays, and reclaiming land on the borders of the river. Their ownership of land is limited, by act of parliament, to five acres.

The following particulars respecting the trade of Cork, in connexion with the Custom House for the last ten years, has been forwarded to me by F. Cassell, Esquire, the Collector:—

Year ending	Duties Received.	Coasting Vessels Inward.	From Foreign Vessels Inward.
5th January, 1851	.. £246,462	.. 2,300	.. 581
„ 2	.. 236,530	.. 2,399	.. 464
„ 3	.. 231,395	.. 1,919	.. 416
31st March, 4	.. 228,378	.. 2,262	.. 466
„ 5	.. 239,983	.. 2,293	.. 356
„ 6	.. 260,437	.. 2,358	.. 420
„ 7	.. 273,742	.. 2,337	.. 364
„ 8	.. 286,296	.. 2,345	.. 354
„ 9	.. 269,073	.. 2,098	.. 379
„ 1860	.. 271,349	.. 2,377	.. 355

This shews a decrease both in the number, of vessels, and the amount of customs, compared with the last ten years. The customs of Cork, as given by Smith, a hundred and twenty years ago, were as follows:—

Years				
1740	....	....	£52,404	3 8
1	....	....	54,946	1 10½
2	....	....	53,023	16 5½
3	....	....	57,991	3 2½
4	....	....	54,849	3 4½
5	....	....	51,764	18 5
6	....	....	58,827	18 9
7	....	....	54,490	18 10
8	....	....	64,727	11 0½
1749, Quarter ending 24th June,			27,037	6 9

The inland duties, excise, licenses, quit-rents and hearth money, amounted to about £1,400 per annum; exclusive of the collections of Kinsale, Baltimore, and Mallow.

CHAPTER XVII.

**THE RIVER LEE—BLACKROCK AND URSULINE CONVENT—PASSAGE
—GIANT'S STAIRS—MONKSTOWN CASTLE—BINNASKIDDY—
ROCKY—HAULBOWLINE—WATER CLUB—QUEENSTOWN—
CHARLES WOLFE'S GRAVE—THE GREAT ISLAND—BELVELLY
CASTLE—RONAYNE'S GROVE.**

THE river Lee runs at the base of a noble chain of hills which extend for six miles above and for four miles below the city. There is but one natural pass in this mountain range—through Blackpool. The Great Southern and Western Railway, which runs under the Cork Barracks is tunnelled through the solid rock. The downs rest on the old red sandstone, portions of which are as hard as granite and capable of a fine polish. The sides of the river are clothed with rich foliage, and adorned with a number of beautiful mansions. We are pointed to cedars, at Tivoli, said to have been planted by the hand of Sir Walter Raleigh. It was from this part of the river he sailed on his last unfortunate expedition. Among the principal residences, on the Glanmire side of the river, we may mention, Fort William, Summer Hill, Woodhill,*

* *Woodhill*, the residence of Cooper Penrose. Sarah, the daughter of John Philpot Curran, who was betrothed to Emmet, was married beneath this roof to Captain Henry Sturgeon.

East View, Lota Mora, Lotabeg, Prospect, Lota Park, Lota, Lota Lodge, Dunkathal, and Inchera. Below this we have the Little Island, from which Lord Lisle takes his title. The Lisles or Lysaghts, of Mountnorth, are an old family. John Lysaght distinguished himself under the Earl of Inchiquin, in 1641, and his son, Nicholas Lysaght, commanded a troop of horse, in King William's regiment, at the battle of the Boyne. "Pleasant Ned Lysaght" was a member of this family. He is described as "short in stature, with a clever, queer, comical, expression of countenance, and a very long nose; the best wit on the circuit, the best song writer of his day." He wrote the Sprig of Shillelagh, Kate of Garnavilla, and the Rakes of Malloy. Ned Lysaght was god-father to Lady Morgan.

On the right side of the river from Cork to Monkstown we have Ashton, Cleveland, Clifton, Dundanion, and Blackrock Castle. A castle was built here in 1604, by the Lord Lieutenant Mountjoy. The present beautiful little structure was erected by the corporation, for about £1,000. It is now in the possession of the Harbour Board. It stands on the promontory of Rinn-Mahon,† now called Ring-Mahon. The little town or village of Blackrock is a pleasant residence, at a convenient distance from the city, which is reached by a railroad in about five minutes. It is in the parish of St. Finn-Barr's. The church, which has a slender

* *Dundanion*, or Dun-daingan, "a strong castle." We have Dangan, or Dangan Castle, in Meath, formerly the residence of the Walsley family. Dundanion house, near Cork, stands on, or near, the site of an old castle.

† *Rinn-Mahon*, i.e., the promontory of Mahon. For the same reason the promontory opposite Monkstown was called Rinn-a-Skiddy, or Skiddy's promontory. Dive Downes says of Rinn-Mahon, "Roche and Coppinger had most of these lands. They forfeited them in the last rebellion to the king."

graceful spire, is a chapel of ease to the cathedral. The Ursuline Convent, of Blackrock, is a noble mansion, with about 40 acres of rich land. It contains 47 nuns, some of whom superintend the education of about 60 young ladies, who board in the house. They also teach about 300 children, in a school connected with the National Board. This sisterhood was originally founded in Cork, in 1771, and was removed to Blackrock in 1840. There is a pleasant cemetery on the grounds, with white marble headstones—like the shades of departed vestals—standing among the cypress trees. The sister, by whom we were accompanied, smiled as she marked our curiosity in noting the ages on the tombs. No concealment here. We told her of a maiden lady who left it as a dying request that her age should not be recorded on the lid of her coffin.

Proceeding down the river we pass, on the right, Ring-Mahon, Lakelands, Old-Court, Ardmore, Rockingham, Horsehead, Pembroke and Passage, which consists of wharfs, docks, two or three terraces, and a slender line of houses running along the river. A few better built mansions are beginning to climb the sides of the hill. The town contains a Protestant church, a Catholic chapel, and a Methodist meeting house. Pembrokestown and the town of Passage was granted to John Parsons by James II., and came into the possession of the Stammers and the Bolands, who intermarried with the Parson family.

There is a railway, about six miles in length, from Cork to Passage. We learn from the Cork Directory of Thomas Holt, published in 1837, that in 1810,

"but one diligence : between Cork and Passage, which carried four passengers, and which was rarely filled. At present [1837] there are 300 gingles licensed, of which, perhaps, two thirds run between Cork and Passage, each of which holds four persons. Some of them make three or four trips, daily; besides a day car, which holds six passengers. The estimated annual number of passengers going and returning, by land, between Cork and Passage, is 420,000."

The Hotel and Baths of Glenbrook stand midway between Passage and Monkstown. Viewed from the river, they remind the traveller of a Turkish temple on the Bosphorus. On the high ground commanding the baths, is Glenbrook House, the summer residence of Edmund Burke, Esquire, a deputy lieutenant of the county. Carrig-Mahon is a noble mansion, and commands a splendid prospect. Here we have the Turkish baths in perfection, and the hydropathic system, conducted with ability and professional skill, by the proprietor, T. Curtin, Esq., M.D.

Between Carrig-Mahon and Monkstown Pier are the Giant's Stairs, or rather a staircase that has been left of them, by the new and beautiful road which winds round the shore beneath Carrig-Mahon demesne and the castle grounds. A vessel, commanded by Captain Cole, foundered and went down in the deep water, at the foot of the Giant's Stairs, in 1758. The stairs led to

* *Edmund Burke.* This gentleman related to the great statesman, whose name he bears. It was the opinion of the late James Roche, of Cork, banker, author of "Critical Essays and Reviews," that Mr. Burke's family is an older branch of the Fitz-Andelm, or the Earl of Ulster de Burgo, than the De Burgoes of Castle-Connell, or the Lords Clanrickard. This family were in possession of a small portion of the original inheritance

a cave,* in which, tradition says, Mac Mahon, a giant, confined young Ronayne, the heir to a large property in the neighbourhood. The boy was liberated by a blacksmith, who boldly entered the cave, bearded the giant, and carried off the lad.

There must be some foundation for this story. The cave is still here. Within a few hundred yards of Carrig-Mahon, or Mahon's Rock, and three or four miles higher up the river is Loch Mahon, and on its S. W. shore Rinn, or Ring-Mahon. We hence conclude, that some gigantic Irish chieftain, named Mahon, had his castle above this cave, and that he employed the cave as the Earl of Desmond did the "Murdering Hole," beneath Strancally Castle, as a prison or dungeon.

Dr. Smith, speaking of the Mahons, says, "These Mahowns derive their pedigree from Kean Mac Moyle More, who married Sarah, daughter to Brian Boru, by whom he had Mahown, the ancestor of all the sept. It is from this Kean the village of Iniskean, in Carbery, has its name, and from this sept that Bandon is sometimes called *Droghid Mahon*." Mahon is the ancestor of the Mahonys, or O'Mahonys.

The Ronaynes lived at Ronayne's Court, on the banks of the Douglas river, within two or three miles of Carrig-Mahon. The old gabled house, with its high-pitched roof and red brick chimneys, is standing to the present day. A chimney-piece in one of the rooms bears this inscription, "Morris Ronayn and Margaret Gould builded this house, in the year of our Lord

* *A cave*.—It is on Darling, or Fairy Hill, the property of James Johnson d'Altera, Esquire, an officer in the royal artillery. The cave, which had become a refuge for thieves and robbers, was closed in 1835. The d'Alteras are of French descent, and came to this country after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

1627, and in the third year of King Charles. *Love God and neighbours. M.R.—I.H.S.—M.G.*"

Some of the Ronaynes lived on the Great Island, at the other side of the river, opposite Carrig-Mahon. The tradition is, that the blacksmith, who liberated young Ronayne from the giant Mahon, crossed the river in a boat. Joseph Ronayne, Esquire, of Queens-town, informs me, that the Philip Ronayne, mentioned in the following passage by Smith, was the boy of the cave:—"Not far west from the castle of Belvelly is Ronayne's Grove,* formerly called Hodnet's Wood; a good house and handsome improvements of Philip Ronayne, Esquire. From the gardens one has a charming view of the river and shipping up to Cork, as also the town of Passage on the opposite shore. This gentleman has distinguished himself by several essays in the most sublime parts of the mathematics; among others, by a treatise on algebra, which has passed several editions, and is much read and esteemed by all the philomaths of the present time. He has invented a cube, which is perforated in such a manner that a second cube of the same dimensions may be passed through the same, the possibility of which he has demonstrated, both geometrically and algebraically, and which has been actually put in practice by the ingenious Mr. Daniel Vorster,† of Cork, with whom I saw two such cubes."

* *Ronayne's Grove, formerly called Hodnet's Wood, now Marino, the residence of Thomas French, Esquire. The old house was burned down last year, but a new one is in course of erection. The shore near the house and opposite Passage, was called "Ronayne's Strand."*

† *Daniel Vorster was probably the father of Elias Voster, who kept a school in Cork, and wrote a work on arithmetic which is popular in the county to the present day. He built Vosterburgh, on the Glanmire side of the river. There are persons still living in Cork who remember the Domine, with his perwig and cocked hat.*

Monkstown, in the barony of Kerricurrihy, is beautifully situated on the shore of what may be styled the inner harbour. Some say it derives its name from a small establishment of Benedictine monks, called Legan Abbey, belonging to the Priory of St. John, Waterford; and that the monks received a grant of land from the Mac Carthys, in the fourteenth century. Here they built the small chapel,* the four walls of which are still standing in Monkstown churchyard, and which was used as a domestic chapel by the Archdeacons.

Dive Downes says, writing in 1700, "I saw Monkstown church. The church walls, built with lime and sand, are still standing. The timber of the roof is up, and some slates on it." We conclude from the following passage, from an old family document, put into my hands by the late Robert Shaw, Esquire,† that this church was built by John Archdeacon.

"Here lyeth the body of a very noble man, John Archdeacon. He built this church for the Divine Father. He gave these fields to chosen friends, whose minds rejoice to the stars. The ground enjoys a chapel, the chapel and fields that bound the castle of the famous master, who was the builder, and died the 12th of April, 1660."

The Castle of Monkstown was built by Anastatia Gould, wife of John Archdeacon.

* *Small chapel.* This chapel was the last retreat of a few monks from the Abbey of St. Mary, Bath. Those small chapels were called chantries, for it was the habit to *chaunt* the mass in these places, for the founder's soul. There is a small chapel, or chantry, of this kind at Rathcooney, near Glanmire.

† *Robert Shaw, Esquire.*—This family was originally Scotch, and formed part of the Clan Chattan. We have an interesting description of this clan in the Fair Maid of Perth. Wm. Shaw came to Ireland, in 1689, in King William's army. He was a captain in General Ponsonby's regiment, whom he carried from the field when wounded. His descendant, Robert Shaw, was created a baronet in 1821. His brother, Bernard Shaw, was Collector of Cork.

"A.D. 1636.—Monkstown Castle and Court were remade. Reader, you are to observe that it was not John Archdeacon, but his wife,* Anastatia Gould, who built the four castles of Monkstown, and the court, in his absence, as he was from home. On his return he did not like the building, and said that a building near a harbour was a building of sedition, which, alas! turned out so."

"A.D. 1660.—Archdeacon died, and when Cromwell came to Ireland, he was deprived of his castle, lands, etcetera, but not his life, which they did not covet."

We learn from Dive Downes that Colonel Hunks, one of the three deputed to execute the death-warrant of Charles I., got the Monkstown lands, and, we conclude, castle, in Cromwell's time. Hunks sold the lands to Primate Boyle, brother to the first earl of Cork; who "gave about £400 for it to Hunks." The Archdeacons must have got it back, or rented it from Boyle, for they were dispossessed of it in 1689, for their adhesion to James II.

Dive Downes, writing in 1700, says, "Mr. O'Callaghan, a Protestant, lives in Monkstown, in a good square castle with flankers."

This property now belongs to Lord De Vesel. A grand-daughter of Primate Boyle, who bought the estate from Hunks, married Sir Thomas Vesey, who was afterwards Bishop of Killaloe, ancestor to the present proprietor in fee. Sir Thomas Pakenham, ancestor of the Earl of Longford, obtained a portion of this property through his marriage with the younger daughter of Primate Boyle. Bernard R. Shaw, Esquire, of Monkstown, holds Monkstown Castle and ground, by lease, from Lord De Vesel.

* *But his wife.*—There is a tradition that she built the castle for a great sum. She supplied the workmen with provisions, bought at such low, and sold at such high prices, that, in balancing her accounts, she was but four pence out of pocket.

Opposite Monkstown is Ballybricken,* the residence of Daniel Connor, Esquire; Fort Prospect, or Prospect Villa, the residence of General Burke, and the pretty village of Rinnaskiddy, above which rises a Martello tower. This neighbourhood is graphically described by Bishop Dive Downes, in 1700:—

“I saw Ringskiddy† and Ballybricken. Ringskiddy and Ballybricken are one ploughland and fifteen acres. Ringskiddy makes the point betwixt Carrickaline bay and Raphine brook. There is a heap of rubbish in Mr. Abraham Dickson’s orchard at Ballybricken, which was a church heretofore. Captain Hayes remembers the walls standing. The people of both these places pay their tithes to Mr. Folliot, tenant to Dean Synge; nothing is allowed to any clergyman. Island Creagh, Island Core, and Island Cahill, in the harbour of Cork, (being almost unprofitable) belong to the lands of Ringskiddy. Haulbowline Island is the estate of the crown; there is an old fort on it, built in Queen Elizabeth’s time, now out of repair. Formerly the Earl of Cork was governor of it. All these islands, together with Spike Island, belong (as ’tis said) to the Great Island.”

We have no difficulty in detecting Rocky Island in Creagh Island, for *creagach* is rocky in Irish. Core, Chore, or Ford Island, may stand for Ring Island, approached by a ford. Between Spike, Rocky, Haulbowline and Queenstown, is Rat Island, a barren rock. Rocky Island is an important powder magazine, it contains at the present time about 300 tons of powder. Haulbowline,‡ a depot for naval and military stores.

* *Ballybricken* “is supposed to be the same with Templebracknany, in the Visitation Books.”—*Dive Downes*.

† *Ringskiddy*, or Rinnaskiddy, the “Promontory of Skiddy.” The Skiddy’s were of Danish descent. The name often occurs in this history. Rinnaskiddy may have been called after the man who built the castle in the North Main Street of Cork. There was a stone chair in this castle, in which the head of the family was enthroned, or installed.

‡ *Haulbowline*. A chain or cable was at one time drawn from Whitepoint across the channel to Haulbowline, and made fast to the bow of a vessel. This

The Water Club, now known as the Royal Cork Yacht Club, was established on this island in 1720. Mr. French, of Marino, the present Admiral of the Cork Yacht Club, tells me that "ladies attended* the Club dinners on Haulbowline, in a sort of uniform, which consisted of a yellow or orange habit, with a blue cape, displaying a silver anchor on the shoulder, and a black hat, tied under the chin." The Water Club, on a gala day, is thus described by two English gentlemen in 1784:—

"I shall now acquaint your lordship with a ceremony they have at Cork, where we are arrived. It is somewhat like that of the Doge of Venice's wedding the sea. A set of worthy gentlemen, who have formed themselves into a body, which they call the *Water Club*, proceed a few leagues out to sea, once a year, in a number of little vessels, which, for painting and gilding, exceeds the king's yachts at Greenwich and Deptford. Their admiral, who is elected annually, and hoists his flag on board his little vessel, leads the van, and receives the honours of the flag; the rest of the fleet fall in their proper stations, and keep their line in the same manner as the king's ships. This fleet is attended with a prodigious number of boats, which, with their colours flying, drums beating, and trumpets sounding, forms one of the most agreeable and splendid sights your lordships can conceive."—*Tour through Ireland*, p. 118.

Philip Luckombe, writing in 1799, says, "Under this island we saw several elegant yawls and pleasure boats, belonging to a society, formed by the neigh-

line or cable was hauled up every night to prevent vessels passing through the narrow channel in the dark. It was hauled in at the bow of the vessel, hence some have derived the name of the island. It was anciently called *Inis Timineah*, or "Fox Island."

* *Ladies attended.* The following resolution was passed by the Club, July 9th, 1807:—"Resolved, that the wives and daughters of the members of the Club be also considered as members of the Club, and entitled to wear their uniform."

bouring nobility and gentry, who meet here every Saturday, during the summer half-year, to dine and make merry, in an apartment which they have fitted up for that purpose, very commodiously, among the ruins of the fortifications.”

Some of the rules of the old Water Club are curious. “Ordered — that no admiral should have more than two dishes of meat for the club. Ordered — that no admiral should have more than two dozen of wine to his table, it always been deemed a breach of the constitutions of the club, except by the judges are invited. Ordered — that no gentleman in wigs, large sleeves or ruffles, should be admitted at the club.” The club kept a steward, called the “*Knight of the Island*.”

The old members, in 1720, were Lord Inchiquin, the Hon. James O'Bryen, Charles O'Neal, Henry Mitchell, Richd. Bullen, (chaplain,) and John Rogers. The new members, in 1760, were Thomas Newenham, Morrough O'Bryen, George Conner, Rich. Longfield, James Nash, William Hodder, Philip Lavallin, John Newenham, Walter Fitzsimonds, Samuel Hoare, William Hayes, Michael Parker, Abraham Devonshire, John Bullen, Robert Rogers, James Devonshire, John Walcot, Thomas Parsons, Henry Puckly, Robert Newenham, Edward Roche, Edmund Roche, Richard

* *Steward, called the Knight of the Island.* The old castle, in which the Water Club met, was erected by the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, and Carew, in 1602, (vol. i., p. 8.) who put a constable in charge, with a salary of 1s. 2d. per diem. This constable, we conclude, was the first “Knight of the Island.” The last knight was John Sheehan. His grandson is coxswain of one of the engineer boats on Spike Island. His grandfather, like Robinson Crusoe, was the only man living on Haulbowline. His father was born there, about 90 years ago. The coxswain is the oldest inhabitant of Spike.

Dunsoombe, Robert Atkins, John Baldwin, Robert Baldwin, Sampson Stawell.

The Royal Cork Yacht Club, of the present day, has its club-house in Queenstown, which was built in 1854. The number of regular members, exclusive of honorary members,* is about 300, and the number of yachts, belonging to members, about 60.

A new club, called the Queenstown Yacht Club, was established in Queenstown, in January, 1860. The following is a copy of the Admiralty Warrant, authorizing the use of the "Red Ensign of Her Majesty's Fleet":—

"By the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

"Whereas, we deem it expedient that the vessels belonging to the "Queenstown Yacht Club," shall be permitted to wear the red ensign of her Majesty's fleet, with the distinctive marks of the club on the ensign and burgee. We do, therefore, by virtue of the power and authority vested in us, hereby warrant and authorize the red ensign of her Majesty's fleet, with the distinctive marks of the club thereon, and on the burgee, to be worn on board the respective vessels belonging to the "Queenstown Yacht Club" accordingly.

"Given under our hands and the seal of the office of admiralty, this 14th day of January, 1860.

Signed, { CHARLES EDEN.
SAMUEL WHITEHEAD.

"By command of their lordships.

W. J. ROMANUS."

Queenstown, formerly Cove, was a small village in 1786, consisting of a few huts inhabited by fishermen, pilots, and tide-waiters. Smith says, "Cove is inha-

* *Honorary members.* "That the Admiral on the Queenstown Station, his Flag Lieutenant, Secretary, and the Captain of the Flag Ship at Queenstown, be ex-officio honorary members of the Club, without payment of subscription; also, the General Commanding the Cork District, his Aide-de-Camp, the Assistant-Adjutant General, and Assistant Quarter-Master General."—*Ibid.*

bited by seamen and revenue officers." A mile from it is the parish church of Clonmel, with a decent parsonage house. Thomas G. French, of Marino, probably the oldest inhabitant of the island, informs me that, with the exception of a part of the old Admiralty house, all the rest of Queenstown has been built since 1799. He speaks of an old inn called the "Antigallicon, a wooden house standing on the beech, into which the sea flowed during high tides, covering the floor with sea-weed, instead of rushes or a Brussel's carpet." Think of this and then look at the Queen's hotel. It was near this spot the queen landed, on her visit to Cork, in 1849. Some poet says that flowers spring up where angels tread. This town is advancing with a queenly step, and assuming the dignity and port of the *socer et conjux* of Kingston. This is to be attributed to its beautiful scenery, mild and sheltered position, and the great facilities of travelling both by water and railroad from Cork to Queenstown. The Queenstown branch of the Cork and Youghal railway, now nearly finished, will increase these facilities, if it has not the effect of inducing the inhabitants of Cork to go farther, and explore the beauties of the Blackwater, from Youghal to Lismore.

The average population of Queenstown is about 10,000. There is a line of houses running along the beach, but they are built, for the most part, like Clifton, on the side of the hill. There is a Protestant, a Catholic, a Presbyterian, and a Methodist place of worship in the town. The Presbyterian Church is a pretty object when viewed from a distance. Queenstown has a *Sailors' Home*—the number who entered

during last year was 532. This exceeds the previous year by 50. The amount of money lodged by persons who have availed themselves of the Home, during the year, was £2,168 12s. A large portion of this sum would have been foolishly spent if not lodged in safe hands.

The general business of the town depends on the number of vessels that visit the port. Mr. Philip Scott, in his examination before a committee of the House of Commons, in June 1860, said:—"I am a merchant and a shipowner at Queenstown; the number of vessels which arrived in Queenstown last year, laden with corn, was 778; of these 196 discharged at Cork, and the remaining 682 proceeded to various ports, principally of Ireland. I would allow five shillings per ton off the freight rather than send my vessel round to Limerick; the total number of ships which called at Queenstown in 1859 was 1,680; of these 778 were laden with corn, 186 with sugar, 72 with guano, 188 with timber, 21 with rice, and 435 with various stuffs. There is a large steamboat trade between Cork and England; and nearly all the American steamers call there, both outward and homeward bound. The passenger traffic of these vessels was on the increase, and would ultimately be expected to reach 400 or 500 a-week."

Queenstown is governed by Town Commissioners. A portion of the town is well lighted and cleaned, but much yet remains to be done, especially in the neighbourhood of *Holy-Ground*.*

About a mile from Queenstown, on the other side of

* *Holy Ground*, remarkable at one time for very disreputable houses.

the hill, within the four walls of the old unroofed church of Clonmel, rest the ashes of the Rev. Charles Wolfe, who wrote the beautiful elegy on the Burial of Sir John Moore. Mr. and Mrs. Hall could not find the grave. I made it out after some trouble. Wolfe's tomb lies in a dark corner, overgrown with nettles, and sadly in need of the friendly chisel of some old, or new, "Mortality."

Within a few yards of his grave I found a thin slab of white marble, bearing the name of Thomas Tobin, the author of the "Honeymoon," the "Faro Table," the "Undertaker," and the "School of Authors." This clever dramatist was born in Salisbury, in 1770, and died, in 1804, in his thirty-fourth year, within sight of land, when on his way to the West Indies for the benefit of his health. His remains were brought to Cove and buried here.

I visited Wolfe's grave a second time, accompanied by a literary friend, who told me the following anecdote of his elegy on the Burial of Sir John Moore:—"Charles Wolfe shewed me the lines in manuscript, with the beauty of which he was so much impressed, that I requested a copy for insertion in a periodical with which I had some connexion. Wolfe first refused, but was persuaded to comply. I laid the verses before some two or three savants, who were in the habit of pronouncing on what should, and what should not, appear in the periodical. The lines were read, ridiculed, and condemned, and I was laughed at for imagining such 'stuff'* worthy of publication. I felt

* *Stuff*. The gentleman who presented them had furnished our poet, Moore, with some of the "*stuff*," or material, or Irish music, to which he set some of his beautiful melodies.

myself in a very awkward position, but I took courage to return the manuscript, and to tell Charles Wolfe, that, on more mature consideration, I did not think the periodical I had named worthy of its insertion."

I see by an unpublished letter of Charles Wolfe, that he sent a copy of these lines to his friend, John Taylor, at the Rev. Mr. Armstrong's, Clonoulty, Cashel, on the 16th of September, 1816. "My dear John, I have completed the Burial of Sir John Moore, and will here inflict them upon you. You have no one but yourself to blame, (for praising the two stanzas,) that I told you so much."

Charles Wolfe's claims to rank as a poet of a high order, do not rest on one or two odes. What can be more beautiful than the lines composed for the Irish air of Gramachree?

"If I had thought thou could'st have died,
I might not weep for thee;
But I forgot, when by thy side,
That thou could'st mortal be.
It never through my mind had past,
The time would e'er be e'er,
And I on thee should look my last,
And thou should'st smile no more.

And still upon that face I look,
And think 'twill smile again;
And still the thought I will not brook,
That I must look in vain!
But when I speak, thou do'st not say,
What thou ne'er left'st unsaid;
And now I feel, as well I may,
Sweet Mary! thou art dead."

The Rev. Charles Wolfe was the curate of Donoughmore, a rural parish in the diocese of Armagh. We should scarcely expect to find the very highest specimens of pulpit eloquence addressed to a poor rural,

and comparatively ignorant people. It is from the fragments of this young man's sermons, that Doctor Whately, (the present Archbishop of Dublin,) has selected the highest order of pulpit oratory, with which to adorn his learned and elaborate treatise on Elocution.

Charles Wolfe died of consumption. Writing to a friend, under date, May 28th, 1821, he says, "At length the die is cast—the doctor has, in fact, stripped me of my gown"—prohibited his preaching. He died at Queenstown. Just before his death he began to pray for all his dearest friends, but his voice failing, exclaimed, "*God bless them all!*" He then whispered in his sister's ear, "Close this eye, the other is closed already; and now farewell."

Charles Wolfe was a student of Trinity College. Close beside his grave nestles another of the Alumni of the same Alma Mater. I think the name is Charles Connor, who died young. The two lie together, covered with foliage, like the Babes of the Wood, but the foliage consists of rank nettles.

If we can believe our ancient chroniclers, or our modern historian, Mr. Haverty, who is both learned and correct, the ancient inhabitants of the Great Island, on which Queenstown is situated, gave name to Great Britain. Inis Mor, or the Great Island, was anciently called Ard-Neimhidh, from Ard, "Great," or "high," and Nemedius, a chieftain, who came from the borders of the Euxine sea, and who, with 2000 of his followers, died here of a pestilence. His followers were harassed by the Fomorians.* Some of them, under

* *The Fomorians* are thought by some to have been African pirates; by others,

the command of *Briotan Maol*, a grandson of Nemedius, sought refuge in the island of Albion, which took the name of *Britain* from this Irish chieftain, not from the fabulous Brutus. Another portion of these refugees migrated to the north of Europe, hence the *Tuatha de Danann*; and a third colony, under Simon Bress, another grandson of Nemedius, went to Greece, where they were conquered, and made slaves, and compelled to carry burdens in leathern bags, whence they obtained the name of *Firbolgs*, or *Bagmen*.

The Island is now divided into the eastern and western parishes, which form the union of Clonmel, and is in the diocese of Cloyne. Haulbowline, Spike, and Rocky Island belong to the eastern division, which is called *Templerobin*. The western division includes a part of Foaty Island. At the foot of the bridge, which connects Foaty to the Great Island, stands *Belvelly Castle*,* evidently built to guard the pass between the two islands. It is in the possession, and on the property, of Bernard R. Shaw, Esquire, of Monkstown. One of the square towers are standing, and in good preservation. It is 60 feet high; breadth, at base, 30 feet. The arches are beautifully turned; the marks of the twigs, upon which they were turned, look as fresh in the mortar as if the work had been done a few years ago. The castle belonged to the *Hodnetts*.† The *Barrys* and *Roches* besieged Lord Philip *Hodnett* in

Phœnicians. The name in Irish implies that they were sea robbers. The Irish name of the Giants Causeway is *Ukighan-ne-Fomharaigh*, or the "Stepping Stones of the Fomorians."

* *Belvelly* is sometimes called *Bellvoir*. Smith's derivation is *Beal-a-Vallah*, "the way of the ford." *Beal*, in Irish, means a sandbank.

† *The Hodnetts* came from Shropshire. They built the castle of *Courtmeasherry*, near *Clouakilty*, from which they took the name of *Mancherry*.

1329, put most of his people to death, took possession of the Great Island, and called it Barrymore.

The principal residence of the lineal descendant of the Lords Barrymore is on the adjacent island of Foaty. The Barrymore title became extinct in 1823, on the death of Henry, eighth Earl of Barrymore. The present heir to the estates is a minor.

The first Earl of Orrery, in a letter to the Duke of Ormond, dated June, 1666, says, "If I were an enemy, and to invade Ireland, I would land in the Great Island, of all places, for it stands in Cork Harbour, has but one pass into it, is above six miles about a fertile place, and nothing to oppose their landing there; which, also, is in the midst of the best quarters, almost equally distant from Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale. I intend to send forces into it, and repair the Fort and Belvelly Castle, both which stand on the pass."

The Great Island is approached by three ferries—the western, between Passage and Carrigaloe; the middle, between Monkstown and Mr. Wheeler's Dock,* and the East Ferry, from a point between Belgrove, the beautiful residence of Mr. Bagwell, and Garranekinefeake. Steam-boats are continually plying up and down the river, and through the harbour, presenting every facility for cheap and pleasant travelling.

* *Mr. Wheeler's Dock* is 420 feet long, 60 feet wide, and 16 feet deep, in ordinary neap tides. There is 19 feet of water over the blocks in spring tides.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SPIKE ISLAND—CONVICT PRISONS—FORTIFICATIONS OF CORK
HARBOUR—CARRIGALINE RIVER—CORK-BEG—TRABOLGAN—
MANUFACTURE OF FLAX—WHITEGATE—AGHADA—FARSID—
ROSTELLAN.

SPIKE ISLAND, which lies in the middle, and opposite the mouth of Cork harbour, is about an Irish mile in circumference. We learn from the Sarsfield papers, that William Liych granted the lands of Innyspyge* to John Pyke, in 1427, and John Pyke made over his holdings in Inyspyk to Maurice Ronan of Kinsale, in 1490. It afterwards passed into the hands of the Roches and Galways. The Earl of Albemarle obtained a grant of the island in 1698, and conveyed 56 acres of the lands of Spike Island, "the estate of Arthur Galway, attainted," to William Smith, of Ballymore. The island was purchased by the government from Nicholas Fitton, towards the end of the eighteenth century. It was lately sold in the Incumbered Estates Court, and purchased by Lieut.-Colonel Beamish, who now holds the fee.

Luckombe, writing eighty years ago, says—"Spike Island is a noted place for smuggling; for small vessels,

* *Innyspynge* or *Inyspyk*, now Spike, is from *Inis-spice*. *Spice* or *spice* means a spike or a sharp-pointed instrument. Spike Island at one time ran to a sharper point than it does now.

at high water, steal in unseen by the officers of Cork." We are still pointed to the "Gold Rock," at the eastern extremity of the island, where one of these smugglers buried a crock of gold, and a black man—whom he had slain—to watch it. There is no such watch or sentry as the ghost of a black man.

On the crown of the island is a convict depot or government prison. The number of prisoners is now about 500, but as many as 2,500 were confined here in 1850. Spike Island prison is one of five government prisons, under the superintendence of three directors. There is a male and female prison at Mountjoy, Dublin, built on the same plan as Pentonville prison. The rule is, to commence the imprisonment at Mountjoy, where prisoners are kept in separate confinement for eight months, and are then drafted either to Philipstown or Spike.*

The convicts at Spike are engaged at the fortifications of the island, under the superintendence of the engineer department. The amount of work performed by the convicts last year, was nearly equal to the entire expense of the prison. The prisoners are fairly fed and fairly worked, and when they leave the prison are generally better able to do a fair day's work than when they entered it.

Enlarged and enlightened principles, based upon the great laws and motives that regulate and influence our nature, have been laid down and most successfully carried out by the present board of Irish Prison Directors. Captain Walter Crofton, C.B., in a pam-

* *Philipstown or Spike.*—Tradesmen and delicate persons are generally sent to Philipstown. Some prisoners were until lately sent to Bermuda.

phlet lately published, on the "Immunity of Habitual Criminals," gives it as his deliberate opinion, that such characters, when re-convicted, should be sentenced to seven years penal servitude, four years of which to be certain imprisonment, the liberation during the other three to depend on the conduct of the prisoner. Here the prisoner is at once furnished with a motive to good conduct, and a very powerful one—the love of freedom. There is a classification among the prisoners by which their progress is marked, and which admits of some slight amelioration of their condition while prisoners, the effect of which is in daily and hourly operation. There is nothing a prisoner understands better, no matter how ignorant he may be in other respects, than his number of good marks, or when he is due for promotion, and when to receive, or write a letter to a relative or friend. I look upon the writing and the receiving of these letters—hundreds of which have passed through my hands as chaplain—not only as a source of *pure* pleasure, but also of high moral improvement to the prisoner.

The directors of Irish convict prisons established what they call intermediate prisons at Forts Carlisle and Camden, where smaller numbers of the best behaved prisoners are located, in order to give full effect to what Captain Crofton styles "*the principle of individualisation*," in other words, to distinguish and draw out those men from the mass. The object is not, we conceive, to give prison warders greater facilities for espionage, but to bring the mind of the prisoner into more frequent connexion with those who are not prisoners, inasmuch as the *esprit de corps* of a prisoner

is of the very worst kind. The prisoners at the forts are allowed to leave what may be properly called the prison, and visit a neighbouring village, without a warder. This system of teaching the prison bird to fly before it is granted liberty to depart, is more fully carried out in Smithfield prison, Dublin, where prisoners are employed in various avocations through the city. I met one of them in the Castle-yard, with official letters in his hand. The following is the

Total number of Convicts in custody in Ireland, on the 31st December, in each of the years from 1853 to 1860, inclusive :—

Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1853 - -	3,764 - -	514 - -	4,278
1854 - -	3,241 - -	691 - -	3,932
1855 - -	2,629 - -	833 - -	3,462
1856 - -	1,996 - -	780 - -	2,776'
1857 - -	1,616 - -	682 - -	2,298
1858 - -	1,295 - -	511 - -	1,806
1859 - -	1,187 - -	444 - -	1,631
1860 - -	1,076 - -	416 - -	1,492

Spike Island is an important military station, with a strong fort. The fort is nearly rectangular, with 6 bastions, mounting 28 guns. The old Westmoreland battery,* at the east of the island, is in course of removal. It is contemplated to mount about 20 additional guns on the sea faces.

Camden Fort is a sea-battery of 12 heavy guns. The land side is to be remodelled, and about 30 additional guns mounted. Carlisle is a battery of 20 guns, and is to have 30 more. There was here, in Smith's time, the remains of a large regular fortification, with

* *Westmoreland battery* was erected by Colonel, afterwards General, Vallancey, in 1791. The barracks were erected in 1806.

platforms for gun batteries level with the water. There is a portion of the old walls standing to the present day. A 12-gun battery, looking seaward, is contemplated at the Queenstown Hospital,* one of 6 guns at Whitepoint,† and one of 4 guns at Cork-beg ‡ a Martello tower at Ringabella, and three Martello towers at Ballycotton. There are five of these towers within what we may call the harbour, for the Great Island is within the harbour, three at the back of this island, one at Haulbowline, and another on the high ground to the south east of Rinnaskiddy. Each of these round towers, which some think are built to puzzle future antiquarians, are being mounted, each with a heavy gun, of a long range, which is wheeled round on a circular railroad, so as to look to any point of the compass. These towers might annoy an enemy as well as puzzle an antiquarian. They are sometimes mistaken by strangers, who are *not* antiquarians, for the far-famed Irish Round Towers.

On the top of Corrabinnny, or the "Round-hill," near Camden Fort, was an ancient earthwork of some description. Smith says, "On its summit is one of the ancient tumuli, raised to the memory of some Irish or Danish hero of former ages. These sepulchres were

* *Queenstown Hospital*. "The old battery under the hospital at Queenstown, which is now dismantled, should be remodelled, and armed with one tier of heavy guns. The position of this work is admirably adapted for raking the approach to the upper part of the harbour, and would afford support to the work on Spike Island if attacked on the eastern side, on which side it is most easily available."—*Defence Commissioners' Report*.

† *Whitepoint*. "We further recommend that a small open battery should be placed on Whitepoint, to rake the narrow channel between Spike Island and Queenstown, and to aid in the protection of that part of the harbour."—*Defence Commissioners' Report*.

‡ *Cork-beg*. "It is desirable to occupy Cork-beg with a small work, to prevent an enemy from obtaining possession of it, as well as to afford a better cross-fire on the harbour."—*Defence Commissioners' Report*.

often placed on the sea-
for his nurse Caieta, me:
in the beginning of the

Witness that of Æneas
by the Mantuan bard,*
Ænead:—

“ Tu quoque, litoribus nostris, Æneia nutrix,
Æternam moriens famam Caieta dedisti.
At pius exequiis Æneas ritè solutis
Aggere composito tumuli, postquam alta quierunt
Equora tendit iter velis.”—*Ænead VII.*

The Awn Buidhe, or Yellow, or Carrigaline River, discharges itself into Cork harbour, between Corrabinnny and Fort Camden.† In a bend of the river nestles the little village of Crosshaven. Higher up the stream is Tubberavoid, or Drake's Pool, where Admiral Sir Francis Drake lay concealed, when chased into the harbour by a superior Spanish fleet. On the right bank of the river is Coolmore, the fine demense and mansion of the Rev. E. Newenham, and higher up Carrigaline Castle. On the left bank, Hodder's-field and Ahamatha Castle.

Dr. Smith says, “The first earl of Cork designed to build a town at Carrigaline; and as it lay nearer the harbour's mouth than the city of Cork, and also had the advantage of a deep and navigable channel, he intended it should rival that city in trade. He was induced to pursue this scheme out of a pique to the

* *Mantuan bard.* As this passage is both correctly and beautifully rendered by Dryden, we give his version:—

“ And thou, O matron of immortal fame,
Here dying on the shore, has left thy name;
Caieta, still, the place is called from thee,
The nurse of great Æneas' infancy.
Now when the prince her funeral rites had paid,
And o'er her bones a lofty mound had made,
He ploughed the Tyrrhene seas with sails display'd.”

† *Camden Fort*, called after John Jeffreys Pratt, second Earl of Camden, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1795.

citizens of Cork, who entered a bye-law in their council books, that no citizen should sell any lands or estate in the city to that nobleman; but the rebellion of 1641 ruined the design." The parish of Carrigaline is partly in the county and city of Cork, and partly in the barony of Kinnalea.

Four miles to the south of Carrigaline is the parish of Tracton, where there was an Abbey of Cistercian monks, founded by Mac Carthy in 1224. The monks, who came from Alba Lauda, in Wales, called the abbey De Alba Tractu. Great multitudes resorted here, as it was reported the monks were in possession of a portion of the true cross.

Sir James Craig and Henry Gilford got a grant of the abbey and abbey lands from Elizabeth in 1568, on paying the sum of £7 15s. Sir James Craig assigned his interest to the Earl of Cork, in the seventh year of James I. Smith, writing more than a hundred years ago, says, "It is now quite demolished, and near it is the seat of Samuel Daunt, Esquire."

The Daunts are of high and ancient lineage. Some writers on heraldry identify it with Dauntre. In the wars of the Roses, in the 15th century, the Daunts were Lancastrians. The following letter, addressed by Prince Edward, son of King Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou, to John Daunt of Gloucester, is taken from a copy in an ancient pedigree of the Daunt family, in the Herald's office, Dublin:—

"To Our Trusty and Well-beloved John Daunt—

"Trusty and Well-beloved, Wee greet yowe well; acquainting yowe that this day wee be arrived at Waymoth in safety, blessed be our Lorde, and at our landing wee have knowledge that the king's

great rebell Edward, Earl of March, our enemy, approacheth him in armes towards the kinge's highness; which Edward we propose, with God's grace, to encounter with all haste possible. Wherefore wee hartely pray yowe, and in the kinge's name charge yowe, that yowe incontinent, after the sight hereof, come to us wheresoever wee be, with all such fellowship as yowe canne make in your most defensible aray, as our trust is that yowe will do.

"Written at Waymoth aforesaid, the xiii day of April [1471].

"Moreover wee will that yowe charge the Bayliffe of *mér rân Párton* to make all the people there to come in their beste aray to us, in all haste, and that the said bayliffe bringe with him the rent for our Lady Day last past, and hee nor the tenants sayle not, as he intends to have our favour.

"EDWARD."

O'Neill Daunt, of Kilcascan, in the parish of Ballymoney, is a descendant of this ancient family.

Opposite the mouth of Carrigaline River, and near Carlisle Fort, is Cork-beg, or Little Cork. Cork-beg is a pretty little peninsula, mentioned in old documents as an island. It originally belonged to the Condons, who were buried here. Near the modern mansion of Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald,* are remains of an old castle built by the Condons in 1396. William Condon sold the property to John Fitzedmond Fitzgerald, of Cloyne, in 1591. The purchase of Cork-beg, together with Aghada and other places, was confirmed to John Fitzedmond by James I., in 1608. This Fitzedmond Fitzgerald was, with Sir John Norris and William De Cogan, a member of the parliament assembled in Dublin in 1585, at which the vast estates of the Earl of Desmond were confiscated. He protested (as we have shown, vol. i., p. 271) against the wholesale con-

* *Penrose Fitzgerald*.—The proper surname is Penrose. James Penrose, of Woodhill, the grandfather of the present proprietor, married Miss Fitzgerald, the daughter of Colonel Fitzgerald, of Cork-beg, through whom the property descended to the Penroses.

fiscation of this princely inheritance, and endeavoured to baffle the Undertakers, when Sir Henry Wallop produced a document, which proved that Fitzedmond had entered into a confederacy with the earl, while in rebellion, to save this property. Fitzedmond was also accused of "compassing the match between the Earl of Clancarty's daughter and Florence Mac Carthy," of whom he was god-father, but his friend, Sir Thomas Norreys, of Mallow, defended him from this charge, in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, dated "Youghall, last of Sep^r, 1588."—*Journal of Kil. Arch. Society*, vol. iii., p. 239.

Sir Walter Raleigh, writing to the Earl of Leicester from Lismore, says—"I am bold, being bound by very conscience, to commend unto your honour's consideration the pitiful estate of John Fitzedmond of Cloyne, a gentleman, and the only one untouched and proved true to the queen, both in this and the last rebellion. Sir Warham St. Leger can deliver his service, what he is, and what he deserveth." It was really handsome of Raleigh, for this Fitzedmond refused to gratify Sir Walter by fighting the battle of Chore Abbey, or Middleton, over again, for which Raleigh charged him with cowardice in the presence of the Earl of Ormond. There was no one more willing than the English knight, to make the *amende honorable*. See vol. i., pages 257 & 258.

John Fitzedmond had as great a genius or ambition for the acquisition of other people's property, as Robert Boyle, and knew how, when the occasion required it, to make as poor a mouth. Among the State Papers, vol. 37, July 2, 1572, is the "Petition

of John Fitzedmond Fitzgerald, of Clone, [Cloyne] co. Cork, gent.," which recites his services, as sheriff of Cork, against the rebels—his decay—his prayer for the fee farm of Chore, Tracton, Ballymartyr, Cork-beg, and the common gaol of Cork, called the King's Castle, which he will rebuild, and the constableness, with a fee. He also asks for the reversion of the abbey of Tracton, and the parsonage of Cork-beg. The petition is addressed to the Privy Council. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy, in his journey from Cork to Waterford, (March 8th, 1602,) "lodged at Clone, [Cloyne] a town manor house belonging to the bishop of that sea, *but now passed in fee farm to Master John Fitzedmonds*, who gave cheerful and plentiful entertainment to his lordship, and all such of the nobility, captains, gentlemen, and others, as attended him. The deputy, as well to requite his perpetual loyalty to the crown of England, as also to encourage others in the like, at his departure, did honour him with the order of knighthood."—*Pac. Hib.*, p. 503.

The site of Carlisle Fort,* and the heath around it, was sold by the late Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald, of Cork-beg, for a very large sum of money, to the government. On the high ground near the fort, stands Rupert's Tower,† and further south, near the mouth of the harbour, the police barracks and the lighthouse, and round the south-east point, Roche's Tower. In the valley, at the other side of this line of hills, is Trabolgan,‡ the noble mansion and demesne of Lord

* *Carlisle Fort*, so called after Frederick, fifth Earl of Carlisle, who was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1780-1782.

† *Rupert's Tower*.—We cannot say how Rupert's Tower got this name. Prince Rupert, as we have shown, (vol. ii., p. 87) visited Kinsale and Cork in 1649.

‡ *Trabolgan*, i.e., the shore of the Belgic.—*Windels*.

Fermoy, the Lieutenant of this county. Trabolgan makes a fine appearance from the sea, just before we round the point to enter Cork harbour. The approach to the house from the land side is fully a mile in length. The part of the avenue lying between the triumphal arch and the house, is lighted with gas lamps, which shine out very pleasantly among the trees.

Lord Fermoy has established a very extensive, and, as well as we can judge, a most perfect flax manufactory on his property. The machinery is worked by a powerful steam engine; but he does not find the growers keeping pace with him. He united with Mr. Dargan, the great railway contractor, in establishing a similar manufactory at Kildinan, and here, as well as at Trabolgan, the machinery and workmen are idle for a large portion of the year, for want of the raw material. Lord Bandon, his brother, (Colonel Bernard) and Mr. William Shaw, of Woodlands, have laboured for years to promote the growth, and make a market for the sale of flax, but their success bears no proportion to their exertions. Trade cannot be forced; but as Mr. Maguire, the member for Dungarvan, says, in his *Irish Industrial Movement*, written on the occasion of the Cork Exhibition, "I can see no reason why there should be for the future so vast a disparity between the quantity grown in Ulster and the quantity grown in the rest of Ireland, as there was in 1851; why Ulster should grow 123,726 tons, and the rest of Ireland but 14,893 tons. The soil of Ulster is not more suited to its growth than the soil of Munster; and the same crop which would repay the Ulster farmer for his labor and outlay, would also repay the Munster farmer for his labor and outlay."

But we hope for a better state of things, as the result of the operations of the Munster Flax Society, which is employing experienced persons to instruct farmers how to cultivate flax, and how to prepare it for the Ulster Market. This society, which receives a small sum from government, quite disproportioned to its objects, gives small gratuities to aid the erection of scutching mills, and in various ways, to the best of its ability, endeavours to encourage a trade, which took a firm hold of the Irish soil and Irish mind in Ulster, more than 220 years ago.—See vol. ii., p. 47 of this history.

The sea-coast from Trabolgan to Ballycotton is wild and precipitous. Between these two points we have Power or Poer head. Here are the ruins of an old castle, standing on a cliff, which rises precipitately above the waters that roar for many a fathom beneath it. We conclude it belonged to a Power or Poer. The Powers predominate in the neighbouring county of Waterford. Geoffrey Poer was one of the witnesses to the charter or grant made by Henry II. to Fitzstephen and De Cogan.

But to turn inland. The pretty village of Whitegate lies embayed on the south side of Cork harbour, as we round the peninsula of Cork-beg. It contains about one hundred houses, many of them occupied by fishermen. They have a clean and cheerful appearance. There was a great deal of straw plait manufactured in this village. Crochet work has taken its place, as it has done in a hundred other villages throughout the country. The village of Whitegate is partly in the parish of Cork-beg and partly in that of Aghada.

Aghada, which name* seems to mark the site of a battle, is about a mile and a half from Whitegate. The village is small, but the great facilities afforded by river steamers—which stop at Aghada pier—for travelling to Cork, and by cars to Cloyne and Ballycotton, is improving the value of property in this part of the harbour. Some good houses and pretty cottages are springing up along the shore.

Adjoining Aghada is the village of Farsit. Mr. Windele, in his “Historical Notices,” says, “It formerly gave name to the whole harbour, which, in early times, was called Beala-far-sid, i.e., the ford of the man of Sidon, a name clearly indicating one of those early settlements of the Phœnician navigators, known in later times as Cuthites or Scots.”

We think this derivation of Farsit, or the man of Sidon, rather far-fetched. Doctor O'Donovan informs me that “Fersat”† is applied to several sandbanks, formed by a fresh-water river and the reflux tide. Bel-fersaite, now Belfast, was called from a sandbank of this nature, which was crossed by the people when the tide was out.

Rostellan demesne, formerly belonging to the Marquis of Thomond, now the property of Mr. Wise, occupies a tongue of land about a mile broad, between the creeks of Farsit and Saleen.

* *Which name.*—“Aghada, belonging to a fight or battle—contentious, quarrelsome.”—*O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary.*

† *Fersat.*—In the counties of Mayo and Sligo there are various *fersats* of this kind, which can be crossed when the tide is out. The country people, who frequently cross them, mark their position by two heaps of stones, that they may venture on them while they are as yet covered by the ebbing tide. The commonest direction given by them to a stranger travelling on foot is, “If you can get the *fersat*, you can shorten the way by four miles.” “You will find it easier to wait for the *fersat* than to go round by the bridge.”—*Dr. O'Donovan.*

The third and last Marquis of Thomond died July 3rd, 1855, leaving no descendant; "on which occasion," says Sir Bernard Burke, "the marquessate of Thomond, and earldom of Inchiquin, and the barony of Thomond of Taplow, became extinct; but the barony of Inchiquin devolved on Sir Lucius O'Brien, Baronet of Dromoland, now thirteenth Lord Inchiquin."

Rostellan was sold on the death of the last marquis, and purchased by Mr. Wise. The name of Wyse, Wyse, or Wise, is of great antiquity in England as well as Scotland. The armorial bearings of Wise and Wiseman shew the English and Scottish branch sprung from the same stem. The family took root in Scotland at an early period. We find them ranged under the standard of the heroic Bruce, in opposition to Edward. A Wise commanded — under Bruce — the force by which the lord of Lorne was defeated, at Branderawe, in 1301. His standard was displayed in 1314 at the ever memorable battle of Bannockburn. Thomas Alexander Wise, Esq., M.D., F.R.S.E., late of Hillbank, in the county of Forfar, in Scotland, is now residing at Rostellan House, from whom I have received the following memoranda:—

"The old church * of Rostellan was situated near the battery,† in front of the castle. It has long since disappeared. A sycamore tree, beneath which the clergyman is 'read' into the parish, points out the spot

* *The old church.*—Doctor Wise has lately discovered, in the demesne, the foundations of what was once called the "Old monastery."

† *The battery.*—The wall at the west end of Rostellan demesne, and its round tower, has the appearance of a battery, and here are four brass pieces pointing down the harbour, on one of which we read—"ASSUERUS KOSTER ME FECIT, AMSTELREDAM, A^o 1646." We conclude from the date, it was brought here by Inchiquin, when general of the Parliamentary troops. The other three pieces are of more modern date, 1786.

where it stood. Near this is the site of the ancient churchyard, which may still be distinguished in dry seasons, by the grass drying up over flag-stones, probably left near the surface. It is believed by many of the inhabitants, that an old woman cursed the Thomonds for removing the grave-stone of her family, to pave a new kitchen. She predicted they would never have a direct heir, and that crows would never build their nests in the woods of Rostellan. Both proved true. The three Marquises of Thomond had no male heir, and crows do not build upon the stately trees near the castle. I can find no flag stones in the kitchen floor that could have been tomb-stones, and as cranes have taken possession of the trees, this accounts for the absence of crows.

“In the entrance hall of the castle of Rostellan, was a large two-handed sword and a helmet, that had belonged—it is said—to the renowned Brian Boru, the progenitor of the Thomond family. On the sale of the property, the sword was left, but the helmet, which was a comparatively modern piece of armour, removed. Its real history was discovered on the occasion of the nieces of the late Admiral Sir Richard Grant, visiting Rostellan. On that occasion the old admiral requested them to enquire for ‘the helmet *he had picked up in Spain*, and which had for years decorated his ship’s cabin,’ and which, at the request of the marquis, he had sent to Rostellan, as a *suitable companion* to the two-handed sword.”

In the hall of Rostellan is a statue, in lead, of Admiral Lord Hawke, ordered by the corporation of Cork. The excitement having cooled down before the statue

was completed, the work was left on the artist's hands. The Earl of Inchiquin became the purchaser, and set it up near the battery, with its back towards the ungrateful city. It fell from its pedestal many years ago, and lay buried beneath a heap of rubbish. Here it was discovered by Doctor Wise, in a sadly battered state, wanting a nose, which has been supplied with great skill. The admiral is now established in the hall of Rostellan, amidst a splendid array of guns, pistols, blunderbusses, swords, spears and daggers, of every imaginable size and shape, intermingled with the antlers of Irish deer, and the heads of Indian tigers. Here the old warlike admiral* must feel quite at home.

The conduct of the corporation to Lord Chatham,* or rather to his statue, was on a par with their conduct to Admiral Hawke. When Cork supported and lauded the measures of the great statesman, he praised both city and citizens, of which they shewed their appreciation by voting him a statue, and the freedom of the city in a gold box. When Cork was quoted against Chatham, "Quote Cork against me, forsooth," thundered the great commoner—"What do I care for what is done in Cork, that refuge for pirates, that spawning ground for smugglers, and prolific nursery of privateers." It was after this that his statue was stowed

* *The old warlike admiral.* We conclude that Her Majesty's ship *Hawke*, which, for the last few years, has been guard-ship of our harbour, was called after this old admiral.

* *Lord Chatham* was a descendant of the Fitzgeralds of Dromana. A branch of the English Villiers settled in Ireland, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and became ennobled, in the Irish peerage, by the title of *Grandison*. Ed. Villiers, the eldest son of George, fourth Viscount *Grandison*, married, in 1676, Catherine, daughter and heiress to John Fitzgerald, of Dromana. The third daughter of that marriage, Harriet Villiers, married Robert Pitt, of Boconnoc, and became mother to Lord Chatham, and grandmother of William Pitt, the younger.

away in a wooden box. It has lately emerged from the box, and now adorns the Cork Athenæum.

But this was nothing to their ingratitude and disloyalty to James II. We quote from Mr. Windele's *Historical Notices*, page 20: "In the County Grand Jury Room is a wooden statue of William III., the history of which is not a little curious. It originally represented his father-in-law, James, but on his downfall, the statue was dishonorably flung aside, having, however, been first, for the sins of the original, decapitated. For several years it had lain neglected, under the stairs leading to the offices, until the rebuilding of the old Court House, (King's Old Castle,) in 1806, when it was once more placed on a pedestal in the Grand Jury Room, *and the lost head replaced by that of William*. From the old it was removed to the new Grand Jury Room, by order, in 1836." Cork has very many sins to answer for on the score of monuments to great men. George II. is fast sinking into the belly of his horse, and the horse is supported by an ugly crutch. There is the monument of Father Mathew; or, I ought rather to ask, *Where is the monument of Father Mathew?*

The Rostellan property has been greatly improved since it came into the possession of the Wise family. I went over the estate about three years ago, with a friend, who thought of purchasing it, and it is so altered for the better, in its woods and walks, its tillage and its pasturage, that, to use a common expression, I should scarcely have known it.

CHAPTER XIX.

PROMLECHS — CASTLE-MARY — CLOYNE CATHEDRAL — ROUND
TOWER—BISHOP BERKELEY—TOWN OF CLOYNE—MARGARET
CORKER—WILLIAM PENN—BALLYCOTTON.

THE barony of Imokilly * is distinguished for its old monuments, be they Christian or Druidical. An ancient cromlech, or tomb, stands on the strand of Saleen, within Rostellan demesne. The top, or "altar-stone," as it is sometimes called, fell down, but has been restored by Doctor Wise. The stones of a second cromlech are lying near the path above the shore. There is a very fine one in the beautiful demesne of Mr. Longfield, of Castle-Mary. The top stone is 15 feet in length, by 11 in breadth.

Some think these stones are merely monumental, to mark the ashes of the dead; others, that they are Druidical altars, on which sacrifices were offered. Doctor Smith, speaking of the altar at Castle-Mary, says, "Adjoining it is a large round flag-stone, or table, which was probably used for cutting up the victims for the sacrifice." Again, "This place was called formerly Cot's-rock, from the remains of a Druid's altar." He adds in a note, "This altar was named, in Irish, Carig croith, the Sun's-rock. The

* *Imokilly* is derived, by Doctor O'Donovan, from *Ui-Mocaille*, the name of an ancient Irish sept, of which Mac Tire, of Castlemartyr, was the chief at the time of the English invasion.

ancient Irish worshipped the sun, and swore by its head." Could Cot's-rock be a corruption of God's-rock, and God's-rock the English translation of Crom-leac, or God's flag or stone? Mr. Windele says, "Crom was the Supreme Power, the Jupiter Tonans of the ancient Irish." Or could Cot's, or Cat's-rock, be a sort of half translation of the original name, *Carraig-a-catha*, "the Rock of worship." "And Jacob arose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put for his pillow, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon it, and he called the name of that place *Beth-El*, 'God's-house.'"—Gen. chap. xviii, v. 18, 19. Rising behind Fermoy is the mountain of *Cairn-na-Thiarna*, in English, the Lord's-heap, a name expressive of the cairn, or heap of stones on its summit. In Irish, *Ti-mhor* signifies the Supreme Being; and *Ti-arna*, a lord or prince; but may not the term lord be sometimes used, as in English, in the superior sense?

The old cathedral town of Cloyne is about three miles from Rostellan. It is called in Irish *Chlain-Umha*, "The Lawn of the Cave." There are some very deep and interesting caves in a lawn or field near the old cathedral, where tradition says the early Christians sought shelter from the Druids. These caves are thus described by Bishop Bennett, in a letter to Doctor Parr:—"At the end of the garden is what we call a rock shrubbery, a walk leading under young trees, among sequestered crags of limestone, which hang many feet above our heads, and ending at the mouth of a cave of unknown length and depth, which branches to a great distance under the earth, and is

anctified by a thousand wild traditions." A subterranean river or stream runs through these mysterious and dark caves.

A bishopric was established in Cloyne in the sixth century. Coleman, the first bishop, is generally considered to have been a disciple of St. Finn-Barr, of York. His church at Cloyne is thus described by the author of the life of St. Brendan:—"Erat hic Colemanus, filius Lenini, vitâ et doctrinâ inter sanctos præcipuus. Ipse fundavit ecclesiam Clonensem, quæ est hodie cathedralis et famosa in partibus Momoniæ. Moruit in seculo sexto, sed placide tandem in Domino dormivit anno 604."

Mr. Croker describes the cathedral as a "small heavy building, without any pretension to ornament." Bishop Bennett concluded it was built between the middle and close of the thirteenth century, as it has no mouldings of the zigzag kind, nail-headed or billeted kind, nor round arched windows, which distinguish what is called the Saxon, or rather Norman architecture, before the introduction of the Gothic, in the time of Henry III.

There is an old manuscript in the British Museum, which is believed to have belonged to Sir James Ware, No. LI.; of the Clarendon Collection, 4,796. It contains the following account of the virtues of Cloyne as a place of burial.

"In the life of Ryan it is set down, that the best bloods of Ireland have chosen their bodies to be buried in Cloyne, which choice, for that Ryan had such power, being a holy bishop, through

* *Filius Lenini*.—He is called Coleman Mac Lenine. He is thought to have been cousin-germain to St. Bridget.

the will of God, that what souls harboured in the bodies buried under *that* dust, may never be adjudged to damnation, wherefore those of the said blood, have divided the churchyard amongst themselves, by the consent of Ryan and his holy clerks."

In Cloyne we have a very fine specimen of a Round Tower, now used as a belfrey.* "Near the church," says Dr. Smith, "stands a round tower, 92 feet high and 10 feet in diameter. The door is about 13 feet from the ground, and faces the west entrance of the church, as all the doors of these kind of buildings do, that I have seen." The most correct and minute description of this tower is that by Richard Rolt Brash, Esquire, architect, in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*, vol. ii., pp. 253-266. From this valuable and learned paper we find the Cloyne tower is 100 feet and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, and 9 feet 2 inches in diameter at the sill of the doorway. It is divided into storeys by seven off-sets. It is built of a yellowish brown sandstone, in spawled rubble work, and not in courses. A small portion of lime-stone, and a few blocks of red sandstone are used at the facings.

Doctor Petrie has written a very able, learned, and elaborate work, containing 256 architectural illustrations, in order to prove that these towers are of Christian origin, and were intended for belfreys and places of protection. He draws the following conclusions from his premises, or extensive collection of facts:—

1. That the Irish were unacquainted with the art of constructing an arch, or with the use of lime-cement,

* *A belfrey*.—A bell was hung in this tower, in 1683, presented by the Rev. Rowland Davies, Dean of Ross, and afterwards of Cork. The tower was also used as a prison, from which a daring fellow, named Colbert, escaped, descending on the outside, by means of the bell-rope.

anterior to the introduction of Christianity. These towers have arches, and are built with stone and lime-cement.

2. That no building in Ireland, assigned to pagan times, displays the existence of architectural skill necessary for the construction of such towers.

3. That no writer, previous to General Vallancy, attributes the round towers to any other than a Christian, or, at least, a mediæval origin.

Doctor Petrie promises to shew, in another work, descriptive of ancient churches and towers—which he has not yet published—that these buildings are never found unconnected with ancient ecclesiastical foundations; that they exhibit no features which are not found in the churches with which they are connected; that on several of them Christian emblems are observable; and that their whole style of architecture is Christian. In proof of their original use, as belfreys, he argues, that the Irish, from an early period, had *campanilia*, called in Irish annals and other ancient authorities, *cloictheach*, and that *clogas*, a synonymous term, or a corrupted form of the same term, is used in Ireland to the present day. In proof of their object and use as places of refuge and safety, he quotes Colonel Montmorency's "Historical and Critical Inquiry into the use of the Irish Pillar Tower," and Sir Walter Scott's "Review of Ritson's Annals of the Caledonians, Picts and Scots." We give the passages:

"The pillar-tower, as a defensive hold, taking into account the period that produced it, may fairly pass for one of the completest inventions that can well be imagined. Impregnable every way, and proof against fire, it could never be taken by assault. Although

the abbey and its dependencies blazed around, the tower disregarded the fury of the flames; its extreme height, its isolated position, and diminutive doorway, elevated so many feet above the ground, placed it beyond the reach of the besieger. The signal once made, announcing the approach of a foe, by those who kept watch on the top, the alarm spread instantaneously, not only among the inmates of the cloister, but the inhabitants were roused to arms in the country many miles around. Should the barbarians, in the interval, before succour arrived, succeed in ransacking the convent, and afterwards attempt to force his entrance to the tower, a stone, dropped from on high, would crush him to atoms."

Sir Walter Scott writes as follows :

"In Ireland there exists nearly thirty of these very peculiar buildings, which have been the very *cruscs antiquariorum*. They could not have been beacons, for they are often placed in low situations, although there are sites adjacent well calculated for watch towers. They could not be hermitages, unless we suppose that some caste of anchorites had improved on the idea of Simon Stylites, and taken up their abode in the hollow of such a pillar as that of which the Syrian holy man was contented to occupy the top. They could hardly be belfreys, for although always placed close or near to a church, there is no aperture at the top for suffering the sound of bells to be heard.

"Minarets they might have been accounted, if we had authority for believing that the ancient Christians were summoned to prayers like the Mahometans, by the voice of criers. It is, however, all but impossible to doubt that they were ecclesiastical buildings, and the most distinct idea we are able to form of them is, from the circumstance that the inestimably singular scene of Irish antiquities, called the seven churches in the county Wicklow, includes one of those round towers, detached in the usual manner, and another erected on the gable end of the ruinous chapel of St. Kevin, as if some architect of genius had discovered the means of uniting the steeple and the church. These towers might possibly have been contrived for the temporary retreat of the priest, and the means of protecting the 'holy things' from desecration on the occasion of alarm, which, in those uncertain times, suddenly happened, and as suddenly passed away."

Some distinguished men were bishops of Cloyne. Among the most eminent, I may mention Doctor George Berkeley, to whom Pope ascribes every virtue under heaven. He was promoted to the see of Cloyne by Queen Caroline, the consort of George II., the 17th of March, 1734. When Lord Chesterfield, in 1745, offered him Clogher, worth twice as much, he declined it, because "he had enough," and he "admired the scenery of Cloyne." He wrote many valuable works, but thought more of his tract on "Tar Water," than any other of his productions. He candidly acknowledged that he looked upon tar water as a sort of panacea. The work by which he acquired the greatest notoriety was his "Principles of Human Knowledge," written to meet the infidel objections, then in vogue, respecting the independent self-existence of matter. He argued, and argued truly, that we have no proof of the existence of matter, but by our perceptions. Those who did not understand him, imagined that he denied the existence of matter, and laughed at him for it; and those who did understand him had no objection to join in the laugh. Dean Swift visited Cloyne, and entered the palace while Berkeley was in the garden, either tending his plants, or making experiments on the virtues of tar water. A heavy shower of rain caused him to seek the shelter of the house, the door of which he found closed against him. He knocked, but got no admittance. Looking up to the windows, he saw the witty dean grinning down on him, and said, "Come down and let me in; don't you see the rain?" — "There's no such thing as rain," replied Swift, "it is merely a perception."

He left Cloyne for Oxford in the July of 1752, in order to superintend the education of his son. As he disapproved of non-residence, he offered to resign his bishopric, but the king would not hear of it, allowing him to live where he pleased. His last act, before leaving Cloyne, was to make an arrangement by which £200 was distributed annually among the poor householders of Cloyne, Aghada, and the neighbouring villages. He left Cloyne for Oxford, in July, 1752. On Sunday evening, January 14th, 1753, he was lying on his couch, listening to one of Bishop Sherlock's sermons, which his wife was reading to him, when he was seized with what his physicians called a palsey of the heart, and expired so suddenly and quietly, that it was only when his daughter went to give him a cup of tea she perceived he was dead. His remains were interred in Christ Church, Oxford, where a monument is erected to his memory. In person he was stout and well made; his face was benignant and expressive, his manners kind and polite, and his conversation, when excited, on the independent self-existence of matter, or the virtues of tar water, warm, animated, and enthusiastic.

Crofton Croker describes the town of Cloyne, in 1824, as straggling and miserable, composed of mud cabins and an inferior description of houses. In 1800 the number of houses was 308, and people 1600. In 1813 it contained about 2,000 inhabitants. In 1838 the number was 2,227. The town consists of two streets, intersecting each other at right angles. The number of houses is about 350, which are small and irregularly built. The only manufacture in the town

is that of brogues and hats. The land in the neighbourhood of Cloyne is most excellent. Limestone prevails throughout the district. There is a quarry of fine Italian dove coloured marble at Carrigaerump.

In the neighbourhood of Cloyne is the castle of Ballymaloe, the former residence of the Corkers, who came to Ireland with King William. The family tomb is in Cloyne Cathedral. A Miss Corker was buried here. When the tomb was opened, some years ago, an orange silk handkerchief was found binding her brow; and I am credibly informed, by a lady, a near relative of the family, who saw the precious relic, that "a guinea was freely given for a square inch or two of it."

Shanagarry is about two miles from Cloyne. We have shewn that the Shanagarry estate was granted by Charles II. to the famous Quaker, William Penn, in exchange for Macroon, which was restored to its proper owner, Lord Muskerry. Mr. Peter Penn-Gaskell, a lineal descendant of William Penn, has been residing at Shanagarry House for the last two or three years. He inherits a portion of Penn's Irish property, as well as property in Pennsylvania, or Philadelphia. William Penn was married twice. First, in 1672, to Guielma Maria Springett, from whom Mr. Penn-Gaskell is descended. He married a second time, in 1696, Hannah Callowhill. His sons, Thomas* and Richard, by this marriage, were joint proprietors of Pennsylvania.

Ballycotton is a good fishing village, about four

* *Thomas.* This Thomas married Lady Juliana Fermor, daughter of the Earl Pomfret. Their daughter, Sophia Margaret, married, in 1796, Archbishop Stuart, Primate of Armagh, and died in 1847, whose daughter, Mary Juliana, married Thomas, Viscount Northland, now Earl of Ranfurley.

miles from Cloyne, on the south-western shore of St George's channel. The harbour would be, like Cork, a "Statio bene fida carinis," if the two islands at its entrance were united to each other, and to the mainland. One of these islands is crowned with a fine lighthouse. There is an island, or rock, further out, called the *Cotton*, from which, of course, we have Ballycotton.

The town is becoming the resort, in summer, of sea-bathers, many of whom are satisfied to reside in the cabins of fishermen, which are fitted up for their temporary accommodation.

I saw, in many of the houses, or cabins, of this village, a bellows of a very curious construction. It is a sort of little windmill, *built* into the hob, which is hollow. You turn a handle, as you would that of a grindstone, and the air rushes out through a tube at the *side* of the fire. It performs its object perfectly, and it has this advantage, that *your neighbours cannot borrow it*, and must, therefore, provide for themselves. It would be well if every village in Ireland had this sort of bellows. It would save poor people a great deal of time, lost in borrowing. There is nowhere you hear the question so often put as in Ireland, "*Will you lend me the loan of your bellows?*" And the worst of it is they all want it about the same time. We strongly recommend the Ballycotton bellows to all poor people. A handy-man might erect one at his fire side, in two or three hours, at the cost of a shilling, or the utmost, one and sixpence.

CHAPTER XX.

CARRIGTOHILL—JAMES II. AT BALLINSPERRIG—BARRY'S COURT
—MIDDLETON—MOGEELY—CASTLEMARTYR—LEPER HOUSE—
KILLEAGH—AGHADOE—YOUGHAL—BLACKWATER.

THE distance by rail, from Cork to Youghal, is twenty-seven miles. The completion of this railway, which was commenced many years ago and broke down, is altogether owing to the ability, enterprise, and capital of D. Leopold Lewis, Esquire, of London, who has lately purchased the town of Youghal from the Duke of Devonshire.

The principal stations on the Youghal line of railway, are Carrigtohill, Middleton and Killeagh.

Carrigtohill * is described by Smith as "a small village, eight [Irish] miles from Cork, seated on an arm of the sea, which at high water flows under a bridge of eight arches, and overspreads a large tract of land, making an excellent marsh for fattening horses." It is scarcely correct to call the marsh an arm of the sea. Carrigtohill lies to the north of the Little Island, round which a stream of salt water still manages to creep. In the old parish church of Carrigtohill is a monument of Italian marble, erected to the memory of Sir James Cotter, of whom we have spoken

* *Carrigtohill*, or *Carrigtoille*, means "a caved rock," from *carrig*, a rock, and *toille*, a cave. The limestone rock abounds here.

largely in this history. Sir James lived at Ballinsperrig, now Annesgrove, near the village. There is a tradition that James II. lodged here; and the tradition gains support from an elegy written on Sir James Cotter's death, in which Ballinsperrig is called "*The Palace of James.*" In an inventory of the household furniture, taken at Sir James' death, is "a velvet bed and hanging, with gold brocade," in which the king is supposed to have slept. The bed was afterwards given, or sold, to Lord Barrymore, and burned at the fire of Barry's Court.

Smith dismisses Barry's Court in two lines. "Half-a-mile to the south [of Carrigtohill] is the ruin of the castle of Barry's Court, which gave title of Baron to the Earls of Barrymore." The castle is a noble ruin—and not altogether a ruin—for it is well roofed in, and used as a barn and granary. It is a quadrangular structure, of the 14th century, about 70 feet high, and has three towers communicating at each storey with the principal apartments. There is a tradition, that Barry's Court was erected on a more ancient structure belonging to the Lyons or Lehanes of Castle-Lyons, and that in removing the rubbish to lay the foundation of the Norman structure, a stone was found with this inscription, "O LEHAN HOC FECIT MCIII." Doctor O'Donovan does not "believe a word about the inscription."

The arches of the old castle are beautifully turned. The marks of the chisel on the cut stone around the doors and windows are, in appearance, quite fresh. It is said that Giraldus Cambrensis penned a portion of his account of the Irish-Norman conquest in this

castle, but I conclude it was in a former structure, perhaps on this site. The Norman castles of Carrigaline and Ahamartha, on the Carrigaline river, bear the marks of far greater age. Over the chimney-piece of the apartment above the chapel (for there is a chapel in the castle of Barry's Court) are inscribed—
 A.D.^o 1588, I.H.S. D.B. ET. E.R. ME. R.I.E.R. I. FECERVIT.
 "David Barry and Eliza Roche caused me to be erected." In another apartment is "A.D. 1596."

William Coppinger, Esquire, is now the proprietor of Barry's Court. The name is of Danish origin, but Mr. Coppinger is descended on the female side, from the Mac Mahons of Clare, where his principal property lies.*

Midleton is thirteen miles from Cork. It is so called from its being nearly midway between Cork and Youghal. The original name, as we have already shewn, (vol. i. p. 257,) was Chore Abbey, from the Abbey of Mary de Chore, established by Barry Fitzgerald. The town received a charter of incorporation from Charles II., dated June 10, 1670, which granted to Sir John Brodrick, knt., that his estate should be constituted of the manor of Midleton, with a seneschal, or court baron, and a court of record, with jurisdiction within the manor to the amount of £200, and that the

* *Mac Mahons of Clare, where his principal property lies.* Mr. Daniel Owen Maddyn tells the following story respecting this property. "The Mac Mahon estate, in the county Clare, now held by Mr. Coppinger, of Barry's Court, was once in great jeopardy, as the Mac Mahons had reason to fear a discoverer. A very spirited, though ancient maiden, a Miss Mac Mahon, resolved to extricate her family by becoming a Protestant. Before doing so, she consulted a friar upon the propriety of her intentions. He very frankly told her, that if for the sake of lucre she would change her creed, she would imperil her soul. "Here goes, then," she cried, "better at any time that the soul of an old maid should go to the devil, than that the property of the Mac Mahons of Clare should go to the Protestants."

town, with the castle lands of Castle Redmond and Cor-Abbey, part of the said manor, should be a free borough and corporation, under the designation of the "borough and town of Midleton." It returned two members to the Irish parliament previous to the act of Independence, and one from that to the Union, when it was disfranchised. The present lord of the manor is Charles Brodrick,* Viscount Midleton.

The town is described by Smith, as consisting of "One long street, ranging from the north to the south bridges." Midleton has made great strides during the last thirty years. The Midleton distillery, the property of the Messrs. Murphy, is one of the largest in the South of Ireland. It employs about 150 persons. The weekly average wages is from £90 to £100.

In the parish of Dungourney, to the north east of Midleton, is an ancient Irish rath; and on a rock, near the church, the remains of a castle of the Barrys, a collateral branch of the Barrymores, which collateral branch possessed the Dungourney property, from 1315 to 1700.

Castlemartyr, the residence of the Earl of Shannon, is not far from the Mogeely station. It was formerly called Ballymartyr. Here, before the English conquest, dwelt Mac Tire, chieftain of the ancient sept of Ui Mocaille, from which the barony of Imokilly gets its name. This was the Mac Tirid who, "stealing

* *Brodrick*.—Sir Alan Brodrick, knt., came to Ireland, and succeeded Sir Adam Loftus, in 1660, as surveyor and estimator of Irish forfeited estates. He obtained considerable grants of land in Ireland. Alan Brodrick, an eminent lawyer, chairman of the Irish House of Commons, Solicitor and Attorney-General, and Lord High Chancellor, was advanced to the peerage of Ireland, in 1715, as Baron Brodrick, of Midleton, and was created Viscount Midleton in 1717. The present and sixth viscount succeeded to the title on the death of his cousin, in 1848.

suddenly and unawares," upon Milo de Cogan and young Fitz-Stephen, "treacherously murdered them, and five of their servants," at Lismore, to which he had invited them, in 1185. See vol. i., p. 25.

Castlemartyr afterwards came into the possession of Fitzgerald, who inherited from his kinsman, Fitzstephen. It subsequently came into the possession of the Cork or Boyle family. The first Earl of Orrery got the town erected into a borough in 1663, "with the nomination of the chief magistrate, recorder, town clerk, clerk of the market, and other proper officers, to the earl and his heirs for ever;" with the privilege of sending two members to parliament.

Smith says, Castlemartyr was anciently called *Leper's town*, from a leper-house belonging to an adjacent place called Ballyouteragh.* Luckombe, speaking of Middleton, or Chore Abbey, says, "Near the water side is an ancient building, supposed to have been used as a leper-house." We learn from Bishop Dive Downes, that the Cork Blue-coat school stands near the convent and leper-house of St. Stephen. There can be no doubt that a disease called leprosy prevailed at one time throughout this county. The poet Spenser, comparing England with Ireland, says:—

"No wailing there, no wretchedness is heard,
No bloodie issues, nor no leprosies."

The pretty town, or village, of Killeagh is twenty miles from Cork. The name is thought by some to mean grey church, from *cill-liath*, but Doctor O'Donovan

* "*Ballyouteragh*, which was a village of some note. There is a tradition of its having been remarkable for a copper factory, Ballyoutery signifying braziers. Yet is no copper ore near this place, but iron mines almost all round it."—*Smith's History of Cork*, vol. i., p. 125.

tells me that "every Killeagh* in Ireland is *coill-liath*, grey wood." He has "no recollection of a cill-liath, grey church"

The town consists of one regular street, neatly built, containing about 150 houses. A nunnery is said to have been founded here, in the 7th century, by St. Abban, near the spot where the parish church now stands. A very handsome new Catholic chapel has just been built here. There is a railway station here. Near the town, and on the rising ground, above the road to Youghal, is Drondihy House and demesne, the seat of Roger Green Davis; here, also, is Mount Uniacke, the residence of Norman Uniacke, and Aghadoe House, which is thus described by a writer, in 1836. The principal seat is Aghadoe House, the residence of Sir Arthur de Capell† Brooke, baronet, not more remarkable for natural beauties than for its having remained in the same family more than 600 years, while nearly all the other estates in the South of Ireland have been confiscated. It was granted, in 1172, to Philip de Capell, lineal ancestor of the present baronet, and is called by the peasantry "the maiden estate," to distinguish it from the numerous forfeited properties in its vicinity.

Smith speaks of "Aghada, the house and plantations of Richard Supple." Richard Brooke Supple, F.R.S., assumed the sign manual, and the original surname of

* *Every Killeagh*.—There is a Killeagh in the King's County, in the County Clare, in the Counties Antrim, Londonderry, Donegal, Tipperary, Waterford, and Cork.

† *Sir Arthur de Capell Brooke*. Philip de Capell came over with Fitz-Stephen, who made him a grant of the Aghadoe estate. It is still held by the original tenure of knights' service, the annual presentation of a pair of spurs at Easter. Cable or Capell island, near Youghal, may have been included in the grant. Hence the name.

his family, in 1797, more than 50 years after Smith wrote his history. Sir Bernard Burke, in his *Peerage*, speaks of an old MS. in the British Museum, which gives a list of English families that came to Ireland in the time of Henry II., Richard I., and John, in which are found that of "James Cappell, otherwise Capell, otherwise Supple, Baron." Richard Supple married Mary Brooke, and succeeded to the estates of Great Oakley, and took the name of Brooke.

From Youghal to Cork is twenty-seven miles by rail, and from Killeagh to Youghal, seven miles. The railway runs near the shore. Nearly the whole of this coast was at one time covered with timber, which has left the usual deposit of peat, or turf. Youghal, or Eo-coill, signifies a "yew wood." The following beautiful passage, from Mr. Hayman's *Annals of Youghal*—a work to which we must refer the reader for a correct and circumstantial history of this old and interesting town—is as true as it is poetical:—"The opening scene of human colonization is, generally, beside a river's mouth. On the shore, the wigwam of the savage first sends up its wreathing volumes of smoke; and by-and-by the settlement is formed, and some chief chosen to give laws to the community. The estuary of the Blackwater in Munster must have attracted the attention of settlers from the remotest times. The aborigines, who shunned the toil of cultivating the earth, would find strong inducement to tarry on a spot where, by launching a canoe, their animal cravings would be immediately satisfied with the abundant supplies of both river and sea."

Youghal is a borough town, and before the act

Independence, returned two members to the Irish parliament. Its first foundation is of remote antiquity. It received from King John a charter of incorporation, as early as 1209, which is still preserved among the archives of Lismore Castle, the property of the Duke of Devonshire.

The charter of the 49 Edward III. directs that the dues hitherto paid at Cork for certain staple articles, shall be henceforth paid in the port of Youghal. The following petition from Cole's Exchequer Documents, illustrative of English history, proves there was a receiver of customs in the port of Youghal, as early as the 18 Edward I. :—

<p>“Petition of <u>WILLIAM</u> <u>DE BERKAMSTEDDE.</u>”</p>	}	<p>To the noble King of England and to his Council, William de Berkamstede sheweth, that he has been in the king's service in Ireland at Iokel, [Youghal] to keep the new custom, 13 years, by the order of the Justiciary and of the Treasurer, and still is there, and has had nothing for his services nor for his work for all that time, by great labour, and a great part thereof has been by reason of the keeping of this custom, because he lives at all times in the said town, to deliver the merchants who cannot be delayed. And a companion, who is joined with him to keep the custom, who has the half of the king's seal to keep as a check upon him, and the half of the indented roll, is paid for all his time and for all his service, and allowance made at the exchequer of Divelyn [Dublin.] Of this the said William prays the king's grace, that his service for all the said time be allowed to him, for the soul of King Henry. The king directs that a writ be sued to the justice, that his reasonable service be paid to him by those who put him into office, and who ought to pay his demand.”</p>
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The Bar rock renders the approach to the harbour of Youghal dangerous during the prevalence of east, south-east, or southerly gales. The mariner must also

keep a sharp look out for the Black-rocks, which do not show till half-ebb. If a vessel *must* be "beached" in Youghal bay, the flat strand to the north-west is the best ground for her.

The sea is making great inroads on the land along this shore. The flat strand was once a race-course. Immediately beneath the sand is a layer of deep peat, from which bogwood is often raised. This is a splendid shore for sea-bathing, and the facilities of travelling between Cork and Youghal, afforded by the new railway, is likely to increase the number of visitors and residents, and the value of building property, as is the case at Queenstown. About a mile and a-half north-east of the town is a timber bridge, erected by George Nimmo, in 1830, which unites Youghal and the county of Cork with the county of Limerick. This bridge is constructed of Memel fir. It is 1,787 feet long, and 22 feet broad. It cost £22,000, besides £8,509, paid to the corporation for the ferry.* The government advanced £10,000 as a loan. Now that the new railroad to Cork is open, a steam ferry will be necessary to ply between the opposite shores. Mr. Lewis has placed a steam-boat on the river, which runs up to Cappoquin.

The population of the town, at the present time, is about 9,000. It was formerly more than this. The woollen trade was carried on here extensively; there was also a porcelain and fine delf manufactory, but these trades belong to the history of the past.

The most interesting object in the town is the old

* *Ferry*.—"Hollyrood day the ferry-boat of Youghal was cast away, and about thirty persons drowned."—*Lord Cork's Diary*, Sept 14, 1616.

house of Sir Walter Raleigh, where he is said to have resided in 1588 and 1589 ; * where he entertained his friend, the poet Spenser, ere they embarked for England, to superintend the publication of the first three books of the "Faerie Queene." The house is in the old English style, with high pointed gables. It is preserved in excellent order by the present proprietor, Mr. Pim. The old pannelling looks bright and polished. The house is called Myrtle Grove, for this tree, as well as the bay and arbutus, grow luxuriantly in the grounds or garden, where tradition says Sir Walter Raleigh planted the first potatoes† imported into Europe.

One of the bay windows of Myrtle Grove, or Sir Walter Raleigh's house, overhangs the grounds of St. Mary's Church of Youghal, which, in an architectural point of view, is one of the finest, and in a historical point of view, the most interesting of all our old ecclesiastical structures. The building is cruciform, consisting of a nave, with aisles, north and south transepts, and a choir or chancel. In the angle of the nave and north transept stands a massive square tower, about fifty feet high. The main body of the church, transepts and tower, are in the early English style, which prevailed throughout the thirteenth century. This noble edifice was rebuilt by Thomas Fitzgerald, eighth Earl of Desmond, A.D. 1464, who, with his wife, the countess, were buried here. This lady is often confounded with "the old countess," the wife of Thomas Maol, 12th earl, whose epitaph reads thus :—

* Resided in 1588 and 1589, during which years, as we find from the records of the corporation, Sir Walter Raleigh was mayor of Youghal.

† Planted the first potatoes.—As this honor has been claimed for ground in another part of the town, I shall leave it an open question.

SHANID-A-BOO !
THOMAS FITZGERALD,
EIGHTH EARL OF DESMOND,
RE-EDIFIED THIS CHURCH,
A.D. 1464.

There was a religious foundation here from a very early period. Almost all the massive pillars, which form the numerous lofty arches of the church, are based on stone coffin lids, of the eighth and ninth centuries.

The most beautiful portion of the building is the choir, which is in the decorated English style, and contains an east window, that, in Ireland, at least, has not its equal in size, beauty of form, and tracery, or for the richness of its stained glass. We saw this church some years ago, when the choir was nothing more than a roofless ruin. The stone mullions of some of the windows had given way, and fallen to the ground. The nave, too, had been sadly disfigured by depraved taste. Its roof, of massive dark Irish oak—an object in itself well worth going some distance to see—was hidden, and covered over, by a modern lath and plaster ceiling. The side arches were crammed with galleries, and its great-western window concealed by a hideous old organ. Square timber sashes replaced the gothic windows, with stone mullions and pointed tops, which once adorned the side walls of the aisles. The lofty and graceful gothic windows of the north transept were almost entirely built up with stones and mortar. Here “one of the most ancient Norman tombs in Ireland was concealed by a bulk, thrown up by an alderman,” which he intended for a monument.

The restoration of this beautiful church, called by the first Earl of Cork "one of the fayrest churches in Ireland," is owing to the untiring exertions, and, we may add, in many instances, to the individual liberality of the Rector, the Rev. P. W. Drew, of Youghal, who has fairly earned the title of "INSTAURATOR RUINÆ." In the south transept we have the monument of the Earl of Cork, with figures of himself, his two wives, and the various members of his family, the taste of which we do not admire, but the taste is his lordship's and not the rector's. His lordship's worldly-mindedness, and master-passion for the grandeur of this world, was strong in death, and has produced a monster monument. But its monstrosities render it an object of the greater interest; we, therefore, give Mr. Drew credit for preserving the original likeness.

St. Mary's, of Youghal, contains the monuments of Lord Broghill, the Earl of Cork's ablest son, — the first earl begat a son in his own likeness — of Thomas Fleming, Lord of Slane; and of Sir Edward Villiers:

" HERE LIES THE BODY OF SIR EDWARD VILLIERS,
WHO DIED LORD PRESIDENT OF MUNSTER,
ANNO DOMINI 16[26].

" Munster may curse	The time that Villers came,
To make us worse	By Leaveinge Such a name;
Of noble parts,	As none can Imitate
But those whose harts	Are married to the State;
But if they presse	To imitate his fame,
Munster may blesse	The time that Villers came."

Here is the monument of the Smiths, of Ballinatray. A daughter of this house, Penelope, married, in 1836, His Royal Highness, the Prince of Capua, brother of Ferdinand, the late King of Naples. Here are the

monuments of the Meades, the Bennetts, and the Haymans. Here are also two monuments belonging to the Drew family,* who claim descent from William, second son of Richard, fourth Duke of Normandy.

The churchyard is an interesting spot, and contains some noble trees and old grey tombstones. One of the oldest stones bears this inscription:—

“ HERE LYETH THE BODIES OF MY TWO GRANDMOTHERS;
MAIDIN NAMS, FOX AND OHUB.”

Springing from the western wall of the churchyard is a round tower, and six old pieces of cannon, with this inscription:—“This tower was erected, and these guns placed here, by the Rev. P. W. Drew. They defended the town in ancient time:—

“ Just hear what the old fellows say,
When Frenchmen landed at Monastry,
One of us made them scamper away.”

The college of Youghal, as we have stated, in vol. i., p. 80, was founded by Thomas of Drogheda, eighth Earl of Desmond. There is scarcely a vestige of the old house in existence. The present college, a good substantial square building, was erected by Mr. Giles, in 1782. The religious school, or fraternity, first established on the site, consisted of a warden, eight fellows and eight singing men, who lived in a college manner, at a table, on an income of £600 per annum—a tremendous sum in those days. We have already explained (in vol. ii., chap. 2) how Sir Walter Raleigh got this property, and how he lost, or sold it, and how

* *Drew family.* William, second son of Richard, fourth Duke of Normandy, came to England with his nephew, William the Conqueror. He had three sons, Walter, Drew, and Richard. Drew, the second son, is the ancestor of the Drews of Moccollop Castle, County Waterford. —*Burke's Peerage.*

it passed to the Earl of Cork, and how he lost it, and was fined £15,000 by Lord Wentworth—afterwards Earl of Strafford—and how he got it again, after Strafford's death.

The Earl of Cork resided in this college for many years. We conclude, from his diary, that he was a very good family man, and looked closely after his domestic expenditure :

"Jan. 21, 1613. Paid for my blue bed and my Turkey table, £6; and for my gilt and green bedstead, with the frames of the chair and two stools, £4; and for five yards of damask to make up the chair and stools, 50s.; and to the upholsterer for silk fringe, and making up the chairs and stools, and the round cushion of damask, £3.

"Aug. 31, 1616. My brother, Smith,* had of me six yards of black satin, for which he is to pay, as it cost me 10s a-yard.

"Sept. 9, 1616. I received 50s. in money, and a hackney in lieu of the other 50s., by Morgan Brien, in discharge of 100s. Mrs. Roch of Ballnedoghie did owe me.

"Sept. 10, 1616. I gave my Lady O'Brien as much mingled fyne ffryze as will make her a gown at her departure from me.

"Nov. 30, 1616. John Nagle, of Ballinamona,† [with whom he had some dealing], sent me ffreze for a jerkin and breeches for my sons' wearing.

"Dec. 7, 1616. I have agreed with Spooner, the plasterer, to work at Lismore, for thirteen weeks, himself and his boy, for £4 4s. sterling, and I to lend them a trouse when they begin their work after Christmas, and they to find themselves; and if he or his boy absent themselves, or neglect their work on working days, through their own default, then he is to lose his quarter's wages."

Lord Cork bought and sold public offices. He bought the office of Town Clerk of Youghal for his

* Brother Smith, of Ballinestay, who was married to the earl's sister.

† Ballinamona. "I have promised a lease of the two ploughlands of Ballynamona, parcell of Ardmoor, to Matthew Hore and John Nagle, for £36 sterling a-year."—*Lord Cork's Diary*, April 18, 1616. Mourne Abbey belonged to the Knights Templars of Jerusalem. It now belongs to Lieut.-Colonel North Ludlow Beamish, to whom it gives the title of *Master of Mourne*.

servant, Thomas Quintyn, and the Searcher's office of Youghal for his servant, Thomas Jazie. "Paid Mr. David Condon to the use of Mr. Patrick Fox, for the remayn of the purchase of the Searcher's office of Youghall, which I bestowed on my servant, Thomas Jazie, £6 sterling." He even sold his office of Clerk of the Council of Munster, which he got from his old friend, Sir George Carew.

"Sept. 29th, 1612. Mr. Randall Clayton owes me £80, as the remain of the £200 for which I surrendered to him my office of the Clerk of the Council in Munster."

For a correct account of the nunnery chapel of St. Anne, founded 1190, on the west side of the harbour; the Franciscan friary, founded in 1224, by Maurice Fitzgerald, on the side of a hill to the south of the town, and the Dominican friary, commonly called the North Abbey, founded in 1268, by Thomas Fitzmaurice, we must refer the reader to Mr. Hayman's work.

The scenery of the river Blackwater, from Youghal to Lismore, is only surpassed by that of the river Lee, from Monkstown to Cork. We first see it sporting like a wild maiden among the mountains and glens of Kerry; it takes the sombre or dark tinge, from which it derives its name, as it passes through the bogs of Duhallow; from the bridge of Mallow we discover the first decided propensity to array itself in its rich foliage, which it continues to cultivate, till it glides from our view into the county of Waterford, with all its charms matured. But as if the river felt that the county Cork had the best claim on its gratitude, it approaches and kisses our shores, before it throws itself into the sea at Youghal.

CHAPTER XXI.

FERMOY—CASTLE-HYDE—KILWORTH—GLANWORTH—MITCHELS-
TOWN—BALLYHOOLY—CONVAMORE—BRIDGETOWN ABBEY—
CARRIGACUNNA CASTLE—KILLAVULLEN—MALLOW—DONE-
BAILE—BUTTEVANT—LISCARROL—CHARLEVILLE.

FERMOY lies on the banks of the Blackwater, nearly equi-distant from Cork and Mallow. An abbey of Cistercian monks was founded here in 1270, by Sir Richard de Rupella, who was Lord Justice of Ireland in 1261. The barony of Clongibbon, in which the monastery is situated, is part of the ancient territory of Feara Maighe-Feine, of which the O'Keeffes were chieftains or kings. Donogh Mac Keeffe, King of Fermoy, commanded the Irish in an expedition against the Danes, in 954. Keating says, this district was bestowed by a king of Munster on an eminent Druid, who aided his Munster majesty in the day of battle, by causing the sun to stand still for an hour or so, to enable him to polish off his enemies. The Druid caught the idea from Joshua, chapter x., v. 12.

Fleming was the first Norman knight who gained possession of these parts. Fleming had a fair daughter, named Amy, whose heart and hand were won by young Adam de Rupe, who entered the lists, as Fleming's champion, against Condon,* whom he slew by a cross

* *Condon*.—The Condons or Cantons were a Norman family, and had castles and large possessions in the county to a late period. The town and parish of Fermoy is not in the barony of Fermoy, but in the barony of Condons and Clongibbons.

shot in the thigh. With Amy came the inheritance known ever after as "Roche's country."

Adam de Rupe is mentioned by chroniclers as a man of "great possessions and power," in Pembrokeshire, who founded Pill Priory, the church of St. Mary Roche, and built Roche castle, on a barren rock,* from which the surname is derived.

Edmund Burke Roche, Baron of Fermoy, is descended from Edmund, the third son of David, Lord Roche, and Viscount Fermoy. A son of this Edmund—Maurice Fitz-Edmund Burke—received, when mayor of Cork, in 1571, an autograph letter from Queen Elizabeth, with a patent and collar of SS, in acknowledgment of his services in suppressing the rebellion of the Earl of Desmond.

I have explained, in a note on the second page of this volume, that Henry IV. of England, was the first that gave the little flower, called "forget-me-not," its poetic meaning, by uniting it on his collar of SS, with his watchword "*Souveraine vous de moy.*"

Sir Anthony Woodville (the brother of Elizabeth Woodville, who was married to Edward IV.) mentions the following incident: "Truth it is, that the Wednesday before Easter-day (1465), I drew near toward the Queen of England and of France, my sovereign lady, to whom I am right humble servant, subject, and brother; and as I spoke to her highness on my knees, my bonnet off my head, according to my

* *On a barren rock.*—It had been foretold that Adam de Rupe should die of the bite of a viper. He therefore erected his castle on a barren rock, at a distance from any vegetation that might be likely to harbour such an animal, but one was introduced in a faggot of wood, which fulfilled the prophecy, and old Adam's destiny.

duty, I know not how it happened, but all the ladies of her court environed me about, and anon I took heed that they had tied about my left knee, a band of gold, garnished with precious stones, which formed a letter. It was a collar of SS, meaning *souvenance*, or remembrance, which, when I perceived, truth to say, it came nigher to my heart than to my knee; and to this collar was hanging a noble flower of *souvenance* (a forget-me-not) enamelled, and in manner of emprise."

The present neat town of Fermoy was almost created by the late John Anderson, father of the late Sir James Anderson. It was he who built the bridge, the principal hotel, and a number of the houses, and made the government a free grant of forty acres of land for the barracks of Fermoy and Buttevant. It was he who ran the first mail coach between Cork and Dublin, which passed through Fermoy. The present population of the town is over 6000. Fermoy, which is clean and regularly built, is situated on the Blackwater. Near the bridge stands the former residence of John Anderson, and about three miles higher up, on the river, the beautiful demesne and mansion of Castle-Hyde. Arthur Hyde was one of the original Undertakers, who got 6000 acres of the Earl of Desmond's forfeited estates in 1589, at a rent of a penny an acre. — See vol. i., p. 273. The Castle-Hyde property has been lately sold in the Encumbered Estates Court.

Kilworth, a market and post town, lies about four miles to the north of Fermoy, on the banks of the river Funcheon, and consists of one long irregular street, with some good houses. This neighbourhood was the scene of some battles in the time of the civil war. The

castle of Cloghlea, built by the Condons, was taken and retaken more than once. Moore Park, the seat of the Earl of Mountcashel, is situated on the right bank of the Funcheon. The demense, which is richly wooded, contains about 800 acres. The Moores are of Norman descent. Thomas de Moore accompanied William the Conqueror into England, and fought at the battle of Hastings. His descendant, Richard Moore, came to Ireland in the reign of James I., whose son, Stephen Moore, purchased the estate of Kilworth, in this county. He was personally known to William III., to whom he lent £3,000, which the king repaid by appointing him the governor of the county Tipperary, and colonel of its militia. His grandson, Stephen, was raised to the peerage of Ireland, July 14th, 1764, as Baron Kilworth, and created Viscount Mountcashel, of the city of Cashel, January 22nd, 1766. He was succeeded by his second son, Stephen, who was created Earl of Mountcashel,* the 5th of January, 1781.

The village of Glanworth, to the west of Kilworth, and five miles south west of Mitchelstown, is also on the Funcheon. The district was anciently called Glanore, or Glen-Oir, "the Golden Glen," from its great fertility. On a rock, above the Funcheon, are the ruins of Glanworth Castle, which was occupied as late as 1601, by a Lord Fermoy. The ruins consist of a square tower or keep, connected with which was a more modern building, of superior construction, containing the state apartments, within a quadrilateral, enclosed by strong walls, defended at each angle by

* *Earl of Mountcashel*.—He was born the 20th of August, 1792, and succeeded to the title of third earl in October, 1822. His eldest son, Stephen, Lord Kilworth, was born 11th of March, 1825.

a round tower. In this locality are the ruins of an abbey, said to have been founded by the Roches in 1227. Between Glanworth and Fermoy is a large cromlech, the top, or altar-stone, of which is 17 feet long by 8 feet wide.

Mitchelstown is a market and post town, in the parish of Brigown,* and barony of Condons and Clongibbons, the country of the White Knights. Fitzgibbon, the White Knight, who betrayed the last Earl of Desmond, died without male issue. His daughter, Margaret, the heiress to his estates, married William Fenton, son of Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Secretary of State for Ireland, and brother-in-law to the first Earl of Cork, who makes the following entry of the marriage in his diary :—

“ Dec. 29, 1614.—My brother-[in-law.] William Fenton, was married, in my house of Youghal, by Mr. Snoswell, the Preacher, to Margaret Neen Morrish Gibbon, heir-general to the White Knight, which young couple I beseech God to bless and prosper.”

Their daughter, Catherine, was married to Sir John King, the ancestor and head of the Kingston family, who was elevated to the peerage by Charles II., in 1660, for his zeal in restoring the monarchy. He had previously, like Lord Broghill and many others, been an active and zealous Cromwellian. The present and fourth Earl, Robert Henry, succeeded his father in 1839. His elder brother, Edward, Viscount Kingsborough, died unmarried, before his father, in 1837. He was the author of a very learned work on the Antiquities of Mexico.

The Kingston property was originally worth £40,000

* *Brigown*. The parish may have derived its ancient name from the mountain stream or river Bregog, of which Spenser speaks in his *Colin Clout*.—See *History of Cork*, vol. i., pp. 291-299.

a-year, subject to a debt of £250,000, which was increased by George, third Earl, late Lord Kingston, to £400,000, incurred on elections, and the building of a beautiful castle, one of the finest in Ireland. The present nobleman added £100,000 to the debt, bringing it up to about half-a-million. The Tipperary portion of the property, worth £16,000 a-year, was sold in the Incumbered Estates' Court, and the proceeds applied to the lessening of the debt, which is now reduced to £120,000. The present earl, who is unmarried, has only a life interest in the property, which is strictly settled, and goes to his brother, the Hon. James King, heir-at-law.

Smith, writing in 1749, says, "Mitchelstown is the principal place in this barony." He speaks of "the fine house and park,* and improvements, and the gardens kept in fine order." The gardens of Mitchelstown Castle were, till within the last few years, the finest in the county. A number of very excellent alms' houses, called "the college" and a minister's house, have been erected on this property, to which an endowment of £1,200 a-year is attached. Smith describes the church, in his time—which was a chapel-of-ease—as in decent repair; and the walls of the old church, as built of large blocks of a very fine freestone. "Here were the remains of one of the round towers, which stood 30 yards from the south west angle of the church, and fell in the memory of several people."

Colgan says this place was a bishopric. The *Baculus Finachani*, or St. Finachan's staff, "on which the

* The park, or *demesne*, contains 1,100 acres, exclusive of wood. It is now in the possession of Michael and Edward O'Brien, Esquires.

adjacent country people used to swear," was preserved in this parish. The saint's festival was kept on the 25th of November.

About six miles from the town, in the county Tipperary, are the far-famed Mitchelstown caves. I am given to understand, by a respectable gentleman, who possesses landed property in the neighbourhood, that one of these caves is called the Cave of the Grey Sheep. Could this have been the cave in which the last Earl of Desmond lay concealed from his pursuers, and in which he was found by his cousin, the White Knight, who delivered him into the hands of his old enemy, Sir George Carew, who had him sent to the Tower of London, where he died, and lies buried. See vol. i., p. 336. If we believe in curses, we should say a curse rests on the Fitzgibbons or Kingstons, for this black treachery.

There are two routes from Mitchelstown to Mallow. The one is through Kildorrery and Doneraile. Kildorrery, on the borders of Limerick, stands on the crown of a high hill, very difficult of ascent. Our forefathers, who knew but little of the mechanical powers, had no idea of ascending a hill in curves, on the screw principle, but went right at it in a straight line. As we do not like steep ascents, and as this road would take us almost out of the county of Cork, we shall approach the town of Mallow by the valley of the Blackwater, a far pleasanter route.

The lands of Castle-Hyde join those of Creg, where we find another of Lord Roche's castles. Two miles beyond Creg is the village of Ballyhooly, near which is Convamore, the splendid demesne of Lord Ennismore.

The view of the river from the demesne, and the Nagle mountains is very fine. About a mile above Convamore, the Awbeg, or Mulla, of Spenser, meets the Blackwater, and then passes beneath the rocky cliffs of Renny, where Mr. O'Flanagan heard that one of the poet's descendants had had his throat cut by his jealous housekeeper.—*See vol. i., pp. 312, 313.*

Bridgetown Abbey lies in the low ground, between the conflux of the Mulla and Blackwater. The priors of this abbey—which was founded by the Roches—were men of great power and importance in their day. Thomas Prior, of Bridgetown, in 1375, in compliance with a writ of Edward III., was appointed to proceed to England, with other chosen persons, to advise the king on the government of that kingdom, and on other important matters. There are some old and interesting monuments in the abbey, and one, near the altar, supposed to be that of the founder, Alexander Fitz-Hugh Roche. It bears a head in high relief, and an inverted armorial shield, charged with *one* fish. The present Roche arms are three. In a small chapel is a tomb inscribed—"A.D. 1634. THEOBALD ROCH."

Continuing to ascend the Blackwater, we come to the little town or village of Killavullan, near which are the ruins of Monanimy, thought to belong to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. About a mile to the eastward of the village is Carrigacunna Castle.* The old castle is a square massive tower, seventy feet high, which looks down as sternly on the plain as it did 200 years ago. Close by stands the modern and peaceful

* *Carrigacunna Castle*, rendered by Crofton Croker, *Carrignacunny*, "the rabbit's-rock."

residence of Mr. Foott, one of the oldest magistrates in the county. There is a tradition that James II. was lodged and entertained here, by its proprietor, Sir Richard Nagle, when that unfortunate monarch was on his way to meet his nephew and son-in-law, William, Prince of Orange, at the Blackwater. The following interesting account of the Nagle family has been forwarded to me, by my friend Mr. Spratt, of Pencil-hill, Mallow, the nephew of Mr. Foott, of Carrigacunna Castle:—

“The present representative of the family of Sir Richard Nagle, Attorney-General for Ireland in the reign of James II., is Mr. Pierce Nagle, who has been for some years absent from this country. His property at Annakissy, in the parish of Clenor, formed a part of the family estates. The Annakissy estate, on which are the remains of one of the family mansions, has recently passed under the Encumbered Estates Court, into the possession of an English gentleman. The paternal great-grandfather of the present head of the family was James, son of Pierce, brother of Sir Rowland. Mr. Pierce Nagle sent his son, James, to be educated at St. Germaine, in France, where James II. spent the last years of his troubled life. There the youthful descendant and heir of the Nagles began his career in life, as a page in the suite of the exiled monarch, and was brought up under the eye of his uncle, Sir Richard, then a refugee. James Nagle lived to the age of 99. Pierce, father of James, filled the office of High Sheriff of this county in the reign of James II., and used the power and influence of his office and position with such good effect, in favor of his Protestant fellow-subjects, that a statement setting forth and acknowledging his justice and humanity was drawn up and subscribed by numbers of the principal Protestant gentlemen of the county. In the subsequent reign, when the penal laws against the Roman Catholic population were inflicted in their utmost rigour, Mr. Nagle was licensed to have and to bear arms; a privilege then denied even to the Roman Catholic gentry. The kindness and protection afforded by this gentleman to his Protestant fellow-subjects, in the time of their adversity, has been con-

trusted with the conduct of his brother, Sir Richard Nagle, who made himself the instrument of those severities which hastened the fall of his sovereign and the ruin of his own fortunes."

Leaving the Blackwater, we follow the course of the Mulla through a deep wild glen, to reach Castletown-Roche, the family seat of the Lords Roche, now called Castle Widenham. For an account of the siege of the old castle, see vol. ii., p. 110.

Mallow, the next place of importance after leaving Castletown, is a borough town, 20 miles by rail from Cork. The population is between six and seven thousand. It has been represented in the English Parliament by Sir Denham Norreys, (the lord of the manor,) for over thirty years. Sir Denham Norreys has erected a new Spa House* and baths on the Spa Walk, and a new castle in his beautiful demesne. The old castle, whose picturesque ruins stand within the gate, on the banks of the Blackwater, was built by one of the Earls of Desmond, a large portion of whose property was inherited by Sir John and Sir Thomas Norreys, the ancestors of the present proprietor, Sir Denham Norreys.

Doneraile is a small but neat market and post town. It was formerly a borough town, and returned a member to the Irish Parliament. Sir William St. Leger, who was Lord President of Munster in the reign of Charles I., held his court here. For his noble and loyal conduct during the crisis of the Irish civil war, and for the wise and impartial administration of old

* *Spa House.* The temperature of the Mallow Spa varies from 66° to 72°. It contains a great deal of gas, the constituent parts of which are 93.5 of nitrogen and 6.5 of oxygen. The water springs from a limestone rock, and discharges 20 gallons a minute. It is much the same in taste and medical properties as the Clifton Spa. It was at one time greatly resorted to for the cure of consumption.

Sir Anthony St. Leger, we must refer the reader to the earlier portions of this history. His views, as Mr. Trotter * says, were those of a great statesman, and his administration of Irish affairs, under great and various difficulties, far superior to that of his predecessors. He served the crown of England faithfully, and followed the passions of no party. Such a character gave safety to Ireland and strength to England. Nothing can be finer than the Doneraile demesne, which is adorned by some of the best reaches of Spenser's Awbeg or Mulla.

Buttevant is about four miles from Doneraile and seven from Mallow. It takes its name from the war-cry of the Barrys, *Boutez en avant*, "Push forward." In ecclesiastical books it is called Bothon, and by Spenser, Kilnemullagh. It was at one time an ancient corporation, governed by a mayor and aldermen. The remains of the town wall were to be seen in Doctor Smith's time. Here are the ruins of an ancient abbey, founded in the reign of Edward I. by David de Barry. Within the old walls reposed the ashes of some of the Fitzgeralds, Prendergasts, Donegans, Meades, Dowlings, Healys, Nagles, Lombards, and Supples. Here are the skulls† of the heroes that fell at the battle of Knockninoss. The old town is little more than a Golgotha, or place of skulls. With the exception of the new Catholic church, nothing seems to have grown or flourished here for centuries. Sir James Anderson, the son of John Anderson, of

* Mr. Trotter, in his *Walks through Ireland*, penned in 1817 and published in 1819.

† The skulls of the heroes who fell at the battle of Knockninoss. A skull of very large dimensions is, or has been, pointed out as that of the famous warrior, Mac Allisdrum, who fell on this occasion fighting at the Irish side.—See vol. I., p. 68.

Fermoy, built a castle and flour-mills here, and lost both. Here he commenced his experiments and extraordinary labors for the construction of a steam-carriage for common roads, upon which he spent a fortune and reaped no reward, except the satisfaction of having labored for a noble object. I have often heard him say, "Others will reap the rewards of my labors when I am dead and gone."* He is now gone, and a purer patriot, a sincerer friend, or a more accomplished gentleman never breathed.

Six miles from Buttevant is the village of Liscarrol, with the ruins of its noble castle, a rectangle, 240 feet by 120, flanked by four circular and two quadrangular towers. It is thought by some to have been built in the reign of King John. The Barrys possessed it before it came into the hands of the Percival family. For its siege, in 1642, and the battle fought beneath its walls, we refer the reader to page 68 of this volume.

The distance from Buttevant to Charleville, by rail, is nine miles. The ancient name of Charleville was Rathgogan. It was changed in honor of Charles II., by Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, who had it made a borough town. Writing to the Duke of Ormond, 11th of December, 1662, he says, "I hope, by your grace's favor, to get it made a borough, and have it bear the name of Charleville, it being now called by the heathenish name of Rathgogan." He

* *Dead and gone.* Sir James Caleb Anderson, of Buttevant Castle, baronet, died in London, the 4th of April, 1861, aged 69. As he leaves no male descendant, the title, which was conferred on the son for the eminent public services of the father, John Anderson, died with him. It is a pity that a title, thus conferred, should be allowed to die out, for Sir James Anderson has left nephews, the grandsons of John Anderson, of Fermoy.

adds, "I admit neither Presbyter, Papist, Independent, nor, as our proclamation says, any other sort of fanatic to plant there, but all good Protestants, and am setting up manufactures of linen and woollen cloths, and other good trades."

Roger Boyle took the title of Earl of Orrery from the name of the barony, and that of Baron Broghill from a castle and manor to the west of Charleville, belonging to the Fitzgeralds.

The Earl of Orrery built a magnificent mansion in Charleville, which was burnt down in 1690, by order of the Duke of Berwick, who had dined there; thus fulfilling, as we have shewn (in page 165,) the prediction of John Exham, the mad Quaker.

Charleville is an incorporated market and post town. The number of houses in 1831 was 741. The present number of inhabitants must be over 4,000. It has a Protestant Church, rather a handsome Catholic Chapel, National Schools,* and a National Bank. The Earl of Cork is the principal proprietor, and is esteemed a good landlord. The new road from Charleville to Croom improved the trade of this town, by shortening the distance to Limerick. The new railway to Foynes, now in contemplation, will increase the facilities of intercourse. Charleville is on the borders of the County Limerick. The mail coach, from Cork to Limerick, passed through this town, near which is a station of the Great Southern and Western Railway.

* *National Schools.* Charles, fourth Earl of Orrery, gave 15 acres of land for a Charter School in Charleville. The building was erected at the cost of £250, and opened on the 18th of April, 1748, and 20 children, 10 boys and 10 girls, admitted.—See Smith's History of Cork, vol. i., pp. 304, 305. What of this school, and what of the endowment?

CHAPTER XXII.

DRUMNEEN — BALLYCLOUGH — LOHORT CASTLE — KANTURK —
 NEWMARKET — DROMAGH — MILLSTREET — KING-WILLIAM'S-
 TOWN — MACROOM — BALLYVOURNEY — KILCREA ABBEY —
 BALLINCOLLIG — OVENS — BLARNEY — ST. ANNE'S.

WE can now travel by rail from Mallow to Kanturk, or rather to the Kanturk station, but we prefer the Navigation Road and the banks of the Blackwater. One of the finest places on its banks is Longueville, the seat of Richard Longfield, Esquire, of whose family I have already spoken, in page 265 of this volume. To the north-west of Longueville is Bally-Thomas, belonging to the Bullens.*

Opposite Longueville, at the other side of the river, stands the old ivy clothed castle of Drumneen, which is styled the principal house of Pobble O'Callaghan. The Irish poet, Aenghus O'Daly, describes his visit to this castle, about the year 1600. I shall take the liberty of paraphrasing his words:—

"The Great O' himself,† sent me down, by his daughter,
 And that for my supper, a mug of cold water.
 'Twas on water alone for that night that I fed;
 I declare, on my conscience, 'twas as thick as the bread."

* *The Bullens* came to this country and settled at Kinsale early in the 17th century. They are descended from Jeffrey Bullen of Salle, in the county of Norfolk, grandfather of Anna Bullen, second wife of Henry VIII., and mother of Queen Elizabeth.

† *The Great O' himself*.—Cornelius O'Callaghan had been prior of B but was elected chief of his name in 1578. Colgan says a nastery of , friars was founded by the O'Callaghans, at Clonmene, two of ae miles I up the Blackwater. The present head and representative of Lismore.

The Newmans, now of Dromore House, in the parish of Kilshannik, resided for some time in this castle. They came from Wincanton, in Somersetshire, to Ireland, in the reign of Charles II. Richard Newman's* patent bears date 28th August and 2nd James II. It secures to him, in consideration of the sum of £54 3s. 8d., the castle and lands of Drumneen, and other lands and tenements in the county and city of Cork; the said lands to be erected into a manor, called the Manor of Newbery. The grant in the city of Cork consisted of "four messuages in Christ Church Lane, extending from the street to the old building called the college."

From Longueville to Ballyclough is about one mile. Smith calls Ballyclough a "pretty village." It is now a poor one. There are some interesting monuments in the old church. One to John Lysaght, of Mount-north, who died 1746, and another to Mrs. Catherine Boyle, the wife of Henry Boyle; and if the lady was only half as good as the marble testifies, we may cap the climax of her praise—if this be possible—and say,

"Underneath this stone doth lie,
As much virtue as could die."

Lohort castle is about an Irish mile from Ballyclough, and the same distance from Knockninos, the site of the famous battle fought in 1647. This is one of the finest old castles in Ireland. It was built, it is supposed, during the reign of King John. It is the property of the Earl of Egmont, who keeps it in a

* *Richard Newman*.—This Richard Newman was High Steward of Westminster, and a faithful adherent of Charles I., whom he accompanied through all his difficulties and dangers, on some occasions supplying him with large sums of money. Colonel Newman was granted an augmentation of arms by Charles I., a portcullis, imperially crowned, for his bravery at the battle of Worcester.

state of most commendable preservation. The castle is eighty feet high, with walls ten feet thick. It was originally surrounded by a deep moat. It contains some fine apartments, which are occupied by the Earl of Egmont's agent.

About a mile and a half from Lohort, is Ballygiblin, the modern and beautiful castellated mansion of Sir Henry Becher.* The Becher family came to Ireland in the time of Elizabeth. Colonel Becher was aide-camp to William III. at the battle of the Boyne, who presented him with his watch, which is now in the possession of Mr. Becher, of Lakelands, near Skibbereen.

Kanturk† is a market and post town, in the barony of Duhallow, about ten miles from Mallow, and thirty from Cork. It lies at the confluence of the rivers Allo and Dalua, which flow into the Blackwater, two miles below the town. Kanturk is a thriving little town, with a population something under 4000. Near it are the ruins of Kanturk Castle. It is a parallelogram 120 feet long, by 80 feet wide, flanked with four square towers. The castle was never completed, it having been represented to Elizabeth as a place of too much strength and importance for a subject; the works were therefore stopped. Mac Donough Mac Carthy, of Kanturk, was killed by Tyrone during the civil wars, and his lands in Duhallow seized by his kinsman,

* *Sir Henry Becher* has in his possession a pedigree tracing his ancestors, through his paternal grandmother, to Sir Eustace de Bridgecourt, who came from Hainault in 1328, with Phillippa, queen consort to Edward III. The present baronet's father was Mr. Wrixon, who was created a baronet in 1831, and his mother the accomplished and justly celebrated actress, Miss O'Neill.

† *Kanturk*, from *Cearn-tuirc*, "the head, or perhaps hill of the boar."—*Dr. O'Donovan*.

Dermod Mac Owen Mac Carthy—the heir, Cormac Mac Carthy, being an infant; but the Lord Deputy Chichester interfered in his behalf with King James in 1611, who restored him his estates. A large portion of this property now belongs to the Earl of Egmont.

To the north-west of Kanturk is the mansion and fine demesne of Castlecor, the property of Major James Barry, of Ballyclough. It formerly belonged to the Freemans.* An old castle belonging to the Barrys, stood in the “pleasant park” of Castlecor. It appears from this that the estate has gone back to the original proprietors, and that the Barrys have got their own again. The Ballyclough branch of the Barrys claims to be senior to the Barrymores. They lived originally at Lisnegar, near Rathcormac.

Newmarket is between four and five miles from Kanturk. It formed a part of the forfeited estates of the Mac Auliffes, and was granted to the Aldworth family, who established a new market here, hence the name. Newmarket House, the seat of Richard Oliver Aldworth, a descendant of the St. Legers, is near the town. Here also is Mount Keeffe, and the Priory, formerly the residence of John Philpot Curran.† Curran was a townsman and cotemporary with Barry Yelverton. When boys they went to school together to Midleton. Yelverton was raised to the Irish peerage in 1736, and to the dignity of Viscount Avonmore, for his services

* *The Freemans* possessed considerable property in this county. Anna Freeman married Edmund Spenser, a lineal descendant of the poet.

† *John Philpot Curran*.—The name Curran or Currane is Celtic. Curran's mother was a Philpot. Some think the Philpots are Cromwellians. Baron Ginkell, King William's famous general, was married to Ursula Philpots Rassefield, a Dutch lady.

in voting for the Union. Curran was at this time a member of the Irish House of Commons. The Marquis Cornwallis, then Lord Lieutenant, writing to his brother the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, says:—"We hope, in the course of this week, or at latest on Monday next, to pass the Union bill in the House of Commons. The [opposition] party is breaking to pieces, and the Ponsonbys have occasioned great disgust by bringing Curran, a most disaffected, though a very able lawyer, into parliament."

Dromagh Castle, on the property of Nicholas Philpot Leader, lies about four miles south-west of Kanturk. Here are the ruins of a fine old castle, built by the O'Keeffes. Lord Muskerry marched out of this castle in 1652, to encounter Lord Broghill, at the famous battle of Knocknaclashy, near Clonmeen.—See vol. i., pp. 114-117. Dromagh is about the centre of the coal or culm district, which runs from within a mile and a-half of Kanturk to Millstreet. Dr. Smith, writing in 1749, says,—“Near this place a vein of coal has been discovered, and considerable quantities have been raised.” The quantity of culm raised by Mr. Leader is considerable; Doctor Justice also raised large quantities on his property between Mount Justice and Duaragil. The culm is principally employed in burning lime.* There is a great deal of bog and bad land in this neighbourhood.

Millstreet is a market and post town, in the parish of Drishane and barony of West Muskerry, eight miles from Kanturk and twenty miles from Mallow, on the

* *In burning lime.*—The “sweet” culm, which is free of sulphur, is employed at “smiddies,” but there is very little of this kind raised.

Killarney line of railway. It is a poor town, with about 1,500 inhabitants. The principal seats are Drishane Castle, Coomlegane, Rathduane, Mount Leader, Mount Justice, and Duaragil Castle.*

King-William's-town, in the parish of Nohoval and the barony of Duhallow, is about ten miles from Millstreet, and the same distance from Castle Island. It is of recent erection and is called after William IV. The crown lands, in the centre of which it is situated, formed part of the forfeited territory of the O'Keeffes. A lease of these lands was granted, more than a century ago, to the Cronin family.† On its expiration, the Commissioners of Woods and Forests commenced, in 1832, a series of experimental improvements in draining, planting, building, and road-making, on which they expended £17,000; the grand juries of Cork and Kerry adding nearly £8,000, making a total of about £25,000. The improved land was then put up for purchase. Mr. Vincent Scully, one of the present members for the county Cork, purchased King-William's-town and Upper and Lower Glen Collin, which he sold in the Encumbered Estates Court, in 1858, to the present proprietor, Nicholas Dunscombe, Esquire, North Mall, Cork, who has expended a great deal of money, and displayed much skill and enterprise on their improvement. He now makes King-William's-town House his permanent residence. The village

* *Duaragil Castle*.—This picturesque castle, overhanging the banks of the Blackwater, has been greatly improved by Doctor Justice of Mallow, whose family has been in possession of the property for nearly 200 years. It originally belonged to the sept O'Keeffes, who also owned the castles of Dromagh and Dromiscane, in the barony of Duhallow.

† *Cronin family*, now represented by Cronin of Park, near Killarney. They are descendants of the Ui Dubhagain chiefs, of Fermoy, who are descended from Mogh Roth, the Druid.

lies in a valley, on the banks of the Blackwater, which separates it from the county of Kerry. Three miles higher up, on Muinganine, we meet the source of this beautiful river, and about a quarter of a mile from its source, the Reidhteach an Jarla, or the "Plain of the Earl," where Garrett, the sixteenth Earl of Desmond, lay concealed before his murder by Daniel Kelly, recorded in vol. i., and pages 264 and 265 of this history.

Macroom, in the barony of West Muskerry, is 13 miles south-east of Millstreet, and 24 miles west of Cork. It is a post and market town. The name is thought to be derived from Maide-crom, a gnarled or crooked wood; some say from an oak which grew in the market place. Mr. Windele, with more probability, derives the name from Maigh-cruim, or the "Plain of Crom."*

Sir Richard Cox says the Carews built a castle here in King John's time. Mr. Windele thinks it was built by the O'Flyns, from whom it was called Caislean-i-Fhlionn. It was repaired and beautified by Tieve Mac Carthy, father of that "well-deserving gentleman, the rarest man of all the Irishry," Sir Cormac Tieve Mac Carthy. For an account of the taking of this castle from Cormac Mac Dermot Mac Carthy, Lord of Muskerry, in 1602, we must refer the reader to chap. xxii. of the first volume. The castle is on the banks of the Sullane river. Smith describes it in his time as consisting of two square towers, about 60 feet high.

* *The Plain of the Crom.* "It signifies the Plain of Crom, who was the Supreme Power, the Jupiter Tonans of the ancient Irish. His altar was the Crom-leac, and his priest the Crom-theac."

Mr. Windele styles it "one huge square mass of masonry."

This castle, and property around it, was granted, on the termination of the civil war, to Admiral Penn, who fought on the side of the Parliament. For this he was indebted to Oliver Cromwell. There is an impression abroad that Penn, the famous Quaker, was born here. Smith says, "Sir William Penn, the famous sea admiral, was born in it;" that is the Quaker's father. Both statements are equally incorrect, as I have explained elsewhere (vol. ii., pp. 119, 120). Lord Muskerry, created (for his faithfulness to the royal cause) Earl of Clancarty, got it back from Penn. Lord Muskerry's grandson, Donough, the fourth earl, lost it again, and the whole of his vast estates, for his loyalty to James II. Macroom Castle is now in the possession of Colonel White Hedges, the brother to Lord Bantry, and heir to his estates. He inherits the Macroom property from his grand-uncle, Robert Hedges Eyre, who died in 1840. It was at one time the joint property of the Earl of Bandon and the Hon. Robert Hedges Eyre. The town, which contains about 2000 inhabitants, is pleasantly situated on the Sullane, a river only inferior to the Lee.

Two or three miles to the west of Macroom is Carriga-Pooka Castle, of which we speak in page 404 of this volume; and about a mile further south, Dun-darick Castle, built by the Mac Carthys, which was forfeited after the great civil war of 1641.

Ballyvourney, or the "Beloved town," is eight miles to the west of Macroom. The river Sullane rises in this parish. St. Abban, who died in 650, founded a

monastery here. The old church was dedicated to St. Gobnata. Sir Nicholas Colthurst, baronet, is the principal proprietor. Much of the land is mountainous, but a considerable portion has been brought under cultivation. With the exception of King-William's-town, Ballyvourney is the most north-westerly town in the county.

To the east of Macrohd, before the walls of Carrigadrohid, is a hill hung with the Catholic Bishop of Limerick. It was built by the Mac Carthys, who committed it to the keeping of the O'Neills. To the east, the village of Carrigadrohid; to the north, Coachford, in the parish of Carrig-na-muck Castle, before the castle. In the same parish are the ruins of the church of Kilcoleman, and on the river Dripsey, the Dripsey paper mills. The paper made here* is of a very superior quality.

Further east the Lee unites its waters with the Bride, near the old church at Inniscarra. It was in this district that Hugh O'Neill met the assembled Irish chieftains in 1600, and installed the gigantic Florence Mac Carthy as the Mac Carthy More.

To the south, on the banks of the Bride, in the parish of Desertmore, are the castle and the beautiful abbey of Kilcrea, founded in 1467, by Cormac Mac

* *The paper manufactured here.*—Mr. Alfred Greer, the proprietor, has another mill for the manufacture of coarser paper, at Glenville, on the Bride, distant about ten miles from Cork. The excise duty paid on the paper manufactured at these two mills, averaged, during the last few years, between nine and ten thousand pounds. Mr. Allen has paper mills for the manufacture of brown, sugar, and tissue paper, on the Shournara river, about 2½ miles from St. Ann's, Blarney; and Mr. Phair has one at Butlerstown, Glanmire. This mill has been working many years, making brown and sugar paper. These are all the paper mills in the county.

Carthy, surnamed Laider, the man who ordered that "the Sabbath should be strictly observed throughout his territory." He was slain, say the same authority, the Four Masters, by his own brother, Owen, and his sons, in 1495. Smith says he was wounded at Carrig-namuc, by Owen, the son of Teige MacCarthy, and died in Cork, and was buried in the abbey in 1494. This corresponds in date with the following inscription :

HIC . JACET . CORMACUS . FIL . THADEI . FIL . CORMACI .
 FIL . DERMITU . MAGNI . MC CARTHY . DNVS . DE .
 MUSGRAIGH . FLAYN . AO . ISTIVS . CONVENTUS .
 PRIMUS . FUNDATOR . AN . DOM . 1494 .

Here also lies Arthur O'Leary, termed the Outlaw :

"So Arthur Leary, generous, handsome, brave,
 Slain in his bloom, lies in this humble grave.

Died May 4th, 1773, Aged 26 Years."

O'Leary's horse had beaten that of Mr. Morris, who revenged himself by demanding the winning animal for £5, pleading the force of an old penal statute* against Catholics. O'Leary indignantly refused the offer; a scuffle ensued, and O'Leary was outlawed and shot down like a mad dog. Mr. Morris was shot two months after, through a window on Hammond's Marsh, by O'Leary's brother. Arthur O'Leary's wife, the aunt of Daniel O'Connell of Derrynane, wrote a beautiful kean on her murdered husband. His brother, who shot Morris, escaped to France with Patrick Moriarty, where they barely escaped the guillotine.

* *Pleading the force of an old penal statute*—A similar case occurred near Skibbereen. The man who coveted his neighbours horse went to a magistrate for redress. The magistrate, "a high Protestant," took down a horse-whip and laid it on his shoulders. "There," said he, "is the law that I lay down in this case."

"Paddy," said O'Leary to his friend, "we were nearly *shortened*." *

In this abbey also lies the remains of Roger O'Connor, mentioned in page 248 of this volume. I find he was the brother of the more famous Arthur O'Connor, who died in France.

From Kilcrea to Ballincollig is about six miles. Here is an old castle belonging to the Barretts, said to have been built in the reign of Edward III. Here are also extensive powder mills. A mile and a half from Ballincollig, on the southern banks of the Lee, stands the castle of Carrigrohan, which the Barretts got from the Mac Carthys. The Barretts were of English descent. Hugh O'Neill, when marching by one of their castles, asked to whom it belonged, and was told, "to one Barrett, a good Catholic, whose family have possessed the estate for 400 years." "No matter," said O'Neill, "I hate the English churl as if he came but yesterday."

About a mile and a-half from Ballincollig is Athnawen, or the Ovens,† a parish partly in the barony of Barretts, but chiefly in that of East Muskerry. Smith speaks of remarkable limestone caves which are now nearly filled up. Had Smith seen the Mitchelstown caves, he would have thought nothing of these.

* *Shortened*.—We do not know how O'Leary escaped being *lengthened*, for he had been seen to advance deliberately up Peter's-Church Lane, with a gun in his hand. It is probable that Morris's family did not wish to be stained with the blood of the second brother. They first denied that Morris had been hit. The Cork Remembrancer of July 7th, 1773, said, "Three shots were fired at Abraham Morris, at his lodgings in Mr. Boyce's house. The balls entered a little below the window, but did no mischief." This was false; he was wounded in the side, and never left the house alive. O'Leary had a great deal of public sympathy for his "wild justice of revenge."

† *Ovens*. The Irish word *uaimh*, means both a cave and an oven.—*O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary*.

We discover, from the same authority, that Onesiphorus Phaire, a descendant of Colonel Phaire, resided at Grange, in this parish. Colonel Phaire, of the death-warrant, Cromwell's governor of Cork, was carried to Dublin, in 1660, with a guard of fifty troopers, and from Dublin to London, where he obtained a pardon, through the interference of Lord Clancarty, whose life he had saved. "He died peaceably* near Cork, and was buried in the Anabaptist burying-yard of that city."

The more we know of the Lords of Muskerry, or the Earls of Clancarty, to whose castle at Blarney we now turn, the more we feel disposed to esteem them. Donough Mac Carthy, who was educated at Oxford, is accused, by those who had an interest in confiscated property, of cruelty to Protestants. We have already referred to the case of the Mallow butcher, who was tossed in a blanket, and bumped to death, by his dragoons, for seeking reparation for his horse; but it would not be fair to make a general responsible for the violent conduct of his troops during a civil war. There were no greater thieves, or more violent scoundrels, than the Dutch troops and Enniskillen dragoons in William's army; they robbed and ill-used the country people right and left, and stole the pistols, and very shoes, of their own chaplain, Dean Davies, of Cork. Ludlow, who was one of the Commissioners appointed to try this Lord Clancarty, says he was *charged* with having put several of the English to death, on the road between his house, or castle of Macroom, and

* *He died peaceably.* Lord Broghill, the Irish Titus Oates of his day, attempted to implicate him, as well as Ludlow, in a conspiracy to revive the Commonwealth.—*See pages* 130, 131.

DONOUGH, LORD CLANCARTY.

Cork ; but he acknowledges that " it appeared that divers of the English were murdered by the convoy, appointed to conduct them safe to Cork," and that " Lord Muskerrey had taken what care he could for their security, and had done what in him lay to bring the person who was guilty of that blood to justice." Of these charges, we are told, " the court acquitted him, and he was permitted, according to his articles, to pass into Spain."—*Ludlow's Memoirs*, p. 442.

It was his splendid property,* and not his blood, that his political enemies sought. The whole of his estates, along with his castles of Macroom and Blarney, were confiscated. His most determined enemy was Sir Richard Cox, of Dunmanway, who prepared the charges against him, for which he " received the thanks of every Protestant of figure in the county." But King William, who was a more just ruler than he gets credit for, granted him a pension of £300 a-year, on condition of his quitting the kingdom, and never taking up arms against the Protestant succession. Lord Macauley's last volume of the History of England has an interesting account of this earl's early marriage and clandestine union with the Earl of Sunderland's daughter. He finally retired from society, to an island in the Elbe, which he purchased from the citizens of Altona. Here he erected a house, planted a garden, and built storehouses for wrecked property. Here he saved many lives. He kept the wrecked property in his storehouses for a year, and if an owner was found within this period, the goods were restored on the pay-

* *His splendid property.*—Upon a loose calculation, made in the middle of the last century, his property was supposed to be worth £150,000, per annum ; and in 1796, about £200,000.

ment of two per cent. Here he died, Oct. 22nd, 1734, aged 64, perhaps a happier and better man than he would have been as lord of wide Muskerry and Blarney Castle. He left two sons, Robert and Justin.

Robert, the fifth earl, entered the English navy, but soon left it and went to France, where he had apartments in the palace of Louis XV., and a pension of £1,000 a year. He married twice, and died in 1770, in his 84th year, leaving two sons, who died without issue.* The title is now inherited by the Trenches, who are descended from Elena Mac Carthy, (the sister of Donough) who married one of the Trenches.

The sale-book of forfeited estates,† preserved in the library of the Dublin Society, contains the following entry of the sale of the castle, castle grounds, and village of Blarney:—

"Oct. 1702.—Set up by cant at Chichester House—Blarney, with the village, castle, mills, fairs, customs, and all lands, and the park thereto belonging, containing 1,401 acres. Real value, £370 4s.; yearly rent, £295. This lies within four miles of Cork, it has a castle and mansion house, formerly the residence of the Earl of Muskerry, a chapel, two mills, and several small houses and cabins; the land is arable, and good pasture, and within the park is a fine oak wood, etc. Value of the wood, about £1,000. Tenant's name, Rowland Davies.‡ Purchaser, Sir Richard Pyne, Lord Chief-Justice, for £3,000.—November 17, 1702."

* *Without issue.*—The Mac Carthys, of Carrignavar, are a collateral branch of this great family, the descendants of Daniel Mac Carthy, the uncle of Dermot, created Earl of Clancarty by Charles II.

† *Forfeited estates.* The Hollow-sword-blade Company purchased nearly all the land about Blarney. About 3,000 acres is now held by Charles Putland, Esq., whose ancestor was a member of this company. The same company purchased nearly the whole of the barony of Barretts. Louise Renée de Parrenscourt, of Queronaille, created Duchess of Portsmouth by Charles II., got £10,000 of the purchase money as a *douceur* from her royal lover. A Cork gentleman, on whose veracity I can place the most perfect reliance, told me he had the Duchess' receipt to the Hollow-sword-blade Company, in his hand.

‡ *Tenant's name, Rowland Davies.* Mr. Windele says, "Dean Davies carried away with him, from the castle, sufficient materials to build his new residence at Dawstown, in the neighbourhood."—*Historical Notices*, p. 232.

The purchaser, Chief-Justice Pyne, fearing that the Earl of Clancarty might disturb his title, sold his interest in 1703, to General Sir James Jeffreys, grandson, we suspect, of the Colonel Jeffreys who seized the city of Cork, at midnight, for Cromwell, in 1649.—See pages 99-101.

General Sir James Jeffreys won his title of knight banneret in the army of Charles XII., of Sweden; and the hand of a lady claiming alliance to the royal family. His son, the Honorable James Jeffreys, was afterwards envoy at the court of Sweden. A descendant of his married the sister of the Lord Chancellor Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare. If we can believe the stories told of this lady, she must have inherited a large share of her brother's indomitable spirit. She obliged, or persuaded the Grand Jury of the county to build a bridge to ornament the castle, and when the water, which is subject to fixed laws, refused to run under her bridge, she applied to have the course of the river changed, but this the Grand Jury could or would not do.

" 'Tis Lady Jeffreys who owns that station,*
Like Alexander or Helen fair;
There's no commander, in all this nation,
In emulation can with her compare."

About a mile and a-half from Blarney Castle is St. Anne's, Doctor Barter's establishment. It stands on a

* *Who owns that station.* Blarney, where we now have a railway station. The metre and style of the *Groves of Blarney*, of which we have given a specimen above, are an imitation of a similar production—by a "drunken cobbler,"—in praise of Castle-Hyde.

"The bees perfuming the fields with music,
As you rove down the Blackwater side;
The trout and salmon, play at backgammon,
All to adorn sweet Castle-Hyde."

But Richard Alfred Millikin, the author of the "*Groves of Blarney*," "*Ode to the Lee*," "*Knop, a Fairy Tale*," and many other poems, was a man of true genius. He was born at Castlemartyr, in 1767, and died 1816. He practised for some years as an attorney, in Cork.

fine eminence, and is surrounded by pleasure grounds, upon which the doctor has displayed some taste and expended more money. It was first called Doctor Barter's "cold water" establishment; it should be now styled his warm water establishment. Here is the Turkish, or warm water, or warm air bath, with more than eastern luxury. In a very clever lecture, delivered on the subject at Bradford, Doctor Barter says, it is melancholy to think, that our beloved queen has not the advantages of the Turkish bath. If all that the lecturer states be correct, an effort should be made either to remove the queen to Blarney, or Doctor Barter to Buckingham Palace.

The bath was esteemed an indispensable luxury among the Romans, *during the decline of that empire*, but by those best read in Roman history, it is supposed to have exercised a deleterious influence, in effeminating that once noble and warlike nation. The Turkish bath has great attractions for lazy and luxurious people, with whom the "killing of time" is an important consideration, but it would not be amiss for such people to inquire, whether a temperature of 150° does not press both heart and pulse to a gallop that will carry them to the end of life's journey sooner than they contemplated. Some learned physiologists assert, that our span of existence is regulated by the number of our pulsations. Be this as it may, the heart that beats the fastest does not generally beat the longest.

Doctor Barter says, "I find the bath highly tonic, and the rule with me is, to put weak people in often, as I find that the action of temperature is favorable to growth and nutrition." A hot-house develops plants

faster than the open air, but, like the eastern lily, they soon fade. The female figure attains an early development under an eastern sun, and fades as quickly. An eastern woman loses all beauty and comeliness before she is thirty. We have women who are beautiful at forty, and comely at fifty.

The necessity of cleanliness, and the comfort of a warm bath, are questioned by no one. A Turkish bath may also prove an important auxiliary in the case of various complaints, *when superintended by a skilful physician*, but in unskilled hands, or in those of an empiric, it is positively dangerous. To employ it generally, as a sort of panacea, is worse than absurd.

CHAPTER XXIII.

REFORMATORY AT UPTON — BANDON — INISHANNON — KINSALE
KILBRITAIN CASTLE — TIMOLAGUE — DUNWORTH BEADS —
CLONAKILTY — DUNMANWAY AND SIR RICHARD COX — CASTLE-
FREEKE — ROSSCARRERY — GLANDORE — BAWNLEHAN AND THE
O'DONOVANS — CASTLE-TOWNSEND — SKIBBEREEN — BALTIMORE
AND THE O'DRISCOLLS — TURKS — FISHERIES — BANTRY — WEST-
ERN COAST — O'SULLIVAN AND PUXLEY — MINES.

From Cork to Bandon is twenty miles by rail. There is a branch line in course of construction from Ballinhassig, which will make the distance from Cork to Kinsale about the same distance as from Cork to Bandon. Near Upton, on the Bandon line, is the Cork Reformatory, established under 21 and 22 Vict. cap. 103. It consists of a plain substantial building on the hillside. There is a farm of 112 acres, in connexion with the house, which provides abundant and wholesome employment for the inmates. Judges and magistrates are empowered to send boys under sixteen years, and who have been sentenced to imprisonment for fourteen days and upwards, to this and similar institutions, and to direct that they shall, if necessary, be detained for a period not less than three, and not exceeding five years. The parents of such children will be obliged, if able, to subscribe towards their support and training. Cork is principally indebted to the en-

lightened patriotism of the Honorable Judge Berwick,*—whose name is held in deserved estimation in this county—for the erection of this institution.

Bandon is a borough, market, and post town, on the Bandon river, from which it derives its name. It was first called Bandon-bridge. It formed a part of the grant of forfeited estates† made to Phaire Becher, in Elizabeth's reign. James I. granted to Henry Becher the privilege of a Saturday's market, and two fairs, "at the town lately built on the south side of the river Bandon, near the bridge." In the grant made to Becher, in 1612, of a moiety of the territory of Kinalmeaky, which was erected into the manor of "Castle Mahowne," power was given to him and his heirs, to appoint a clerk of a market, in the "newly erected town called Bandon-bridge."

These grants were shortly after purchased by the first Earl of Cork, who may be justly styled the founder of the town. Through him, the Earls of Cork and Shannon, and the Duke of Devonshire, possess property in the town and neighbourhood. The Earl of Bandon is also a proprietor, but the principal part of his property is in Kerry and in the western part of the county. The Bernard family have always been esteemed good landlords and kind to their tenantry.

The following extract from an original letter written by his agent to the Lord Bandon, of April 23rd, 1793, preserved among the papers of Wm. T. Crosbie, Esq., of Ardferf Abbey, county Kerry, will afford a good

* *Judge Berwick.* In speaking of the South Mall, I forgot to notice the new fountain, erected at the cost of this truly kind and humane gentleman.

† *Forfeited estates.* Phaire Becher got 12,000 acres, at a penny an acre. See "Table of Undertakers, February, 1689," in page 273 of first vol.

idea of what an "Irish tenant gala" was at the close of the last century:—

"None who were not tenants did I invite, except those named by you, viz., Father Morgan Flaherty, Tim Mc'Carthy, Charles Casey, Doctor Leyne, and Father Nelan, son to Old John. These I asked as Catholics *particularly* attached to you. Had I gone further I must either have excited jealousy, or summoned half the country. We had a company of 22 in the parlour, of whom I will send you a list next post. In the breakfast-parlour there was another company of second rate, and the third rate dined in the tent pitched in the avenue near the abbey. In the parlour your claret was made free with, as Stephen tells me he opened 34 bottles. In the breakfast-parlour port wine and rum-punch were supplied in abundance, and abroad large libations of whiskey-punch. We had two quarter casks (above 80 gallons) of that beverage, made the day before, which was drawn off unsparingly for those abroad, and plenty of beer besides. Two patteraroes, borrowed from Jack Collis, and placed on the top of the abbey tower, announced our dinner, toasts, and our exultation. Pipers and fiddlers enlivened the intervals between the peals of the ordnance. The May-men and maids, with their hobby horse, danced most cheerfully, and were all entertained at dinner, and with drink in abundance. An ox was roasted whole at one end of the turf house, on a large ash beam, by way of a spit, and turned with a wheel well contrived by Tom O'Brien. It was cut up from thence, and divided as wanting. The name of its being roasted entire was more than if two oxen had been served piecemeal. Six sheep were also sacrificed on the occasion, and, in short, plenty and hospitality graced both your board and your sod; and a fine serene evening favoured happily the glee and hilarity of the meeting. All was happiness, mirth, and good humour. God save great George our king was cheered within and abroad, accompanied with fiddles, pipes, &c., &c."

The Bandonians would admit of no piping or fiddling like this. "In this town," says Dr. Smith, writing of Bandon, in 1749, "there is not a Popish inhabitant, nor will the townsmen suffer one to dwell in it, nor a

piper to play in the place, that being the music used formerly by the Irish in their wars." The town, at this time, could raise 1,000 men fit for arms. The woollen manufacture, an Irish trade which William III. was petitioned to suppress, and which he faithfully promised to discourage, once flourished here. The trade has now altogether left our shores, while the manufacture of linen has departed to the north, and with it the growth of flax.

There are two parish churches in this town—Kilbrogan and Ballymodan. The latter contains a fine old monument, erected to Francis Bernard, Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, with this inscription:—

FRANCIS BERNARD, ESQUIRE,

OBIIT JUNE 29TH, 1731,

ÆTATIS SUÆ 68.

A beautiful new church, in the purest Gothic, has been lately erected on the site of the old church of Ballymodan. The foundation was laid on the 9th of March, 1847, by the Earl of Bandon, who subscribed £500 towards its re-erection. To aid the building of the former edifice, the first Earl of Cork says, (in his Diary, Sept. 10th, 1614,) "I gave my yeare's rent of my p'sonadge of Ballymodane, as a help towards the bwylding of the new church at Bandon-bridge." The present new church was not built before it was required. There are about 1,400 Protestants in the parish of Ballymodan.

About a mile to the south-west of the town is Castle Bernard,* the splendid mansion and noble park of the

* *Castle Bernard*.—"Six miles west of Bandon, a little east of Iniskean, is Palace-Anne, a handsome, large, well-built house of Roger Bernard, Esq, with

Earls of Bandon. The more modern residence, built by Judge Bernard, is incorporated with the old fortalice of Castle Mahon, the seat of the O'Mahonys.

The Bandon river discharges itself into the sea at Kinsale. The passage of this river through the glen, near the pretty town of Inishannon, is very beautiful. The new Protestant church in this town or village, is a very fine structure. Inishannon was formerly walled, and a place of some note. In this neighbourhood are the foundations of several castles. Kilgobban Castle, on the river Bandon, built by Mac Carthy; Downtaniel Castle, built by Barry Oge in 1476, at the confluence of the Brinny and Bandon rivers; and Carriganassig.

From Inishannon to Kinsale the river runs through a rich loamy soil, its banks here and there clothed with rich foliage, still justifying Spenser's description of

"The pleasant Bandon, crowned with many a wood."

Here also are the ruins of old castles and mansions, the principal of which is Poul-na-long, or Ship-pool, belonging to the Roches, which was taken by the men of Bandon in 1642, by which means they opened a correspondence with Kinsale. In the church-yard of the parish of Dunderrow, within three miles of Kinsale, is a monument, with an inscription:—"To the memory of Edward Roche, Esquire, of Trabolgan, and his wife, Mrs. Mary Archdeacon, of Monkstown, who both died in the same hour, on the 23rd of January, 1711."

The seaport town of Kinsale derives its name from

kitchen and pleasure gardens, good orchards, and other large plantations."
 "Iniskeen, a village consisting of 38 houses, and takes its name from Kenn Mac Moile More, ancestor of the Mahonys."—*Smith's Hist. of Cork*, vol. i. pp. 252-3.

Ceann-saile, "the head of the sea." The promontory which juts out about six miles to the south-east, is called the Old Head of Kinsale. Here was an ancient encampment,* on the site of which stand the ruins of a De Courcy castle. Miles de Courcy, son of the celebrated John de Courcy, married a De Cogan, and built a castle on the Old Head. The Ordnance map has a "church in ruins" near Sandy Cove, on the old head. The Rev. John H. Hopkins, Rector of Kinsale, says:—"The church is built of unhewn stone, and mortar made from burned shells. The building is oblong, measuring about thirty-five feet by twenty. It was entered by a low narrow door in the western gable, and lighted by slits like those in the staircase of an old castle, two of which remain. The eastern gable is surmounted by a rudely constructed circular arch,† and slightly bayed; the other is also bayed, and surmounted by a flat stone. The ruin is known as the church of Courtmather."

Kinsale is one of the oldest corporate towns in Ireland. The preamble of the charter, 7 of Edward III. says, "the town was surrounded by Irish enemies and English rebels, and that the burgesses had always obeyed the king's orders in repelling the same, who had often, by sea and land, assailed the town." The power of choosing a sovereign or mayor was granted by this charter, for their loyalty. But Kinsale did

* *An ancient encampment*.—"This place, in ancient records, is said to have been a royal seat of the kings of Ireland, being called Dun-Kearma."—*Smith's History of Cork*, vol. i., p. 46.

† *Circular arch*.—Doctor Petrie gives several examples in his learned work on Ecclesiastical Architecture, to shew that we have no example of the use of the arch or lime cement as early as the sixth century.—*Doctor Petrie's Round Towers*, pp. 127-133.

not always preserve its loyalty intact. It countenanced the pretensions of Lambert Simnel, and was therefore visited by the Earl of Kildare with five ships and 500 men, and obliged, in 1488, to renew its oath of allegiance to Henry VII. The following certificate of the bravery of William Loggan, captain of a king's ship is interesting :—

“August 3, 1545. Certificate by the sovereign and principal inhabitants of Kinsale, stating the gallant conduct of William Loggan, captain of the king's ship called the *Murderer*, which was captured by a French ship, off Kinsale, July 6th, 1545. The *Murderer*, which was a Scotese ship in tyme past, was taken by *Fransmene* * upon the king's coast, and by the haven mouth of his majesty's toun of Kinsale. The said Wyllame manly fought against the said Frenshmene, where was no more with hym, that stand, as we are informed, save x [ten] men. After his pursuer and part of his men was kille, said Wyllame fought still manly and worshipfully, and so kille certayn of said Franshmen. The said Wyllame Logane, and so many as stood with hym, lep out in one of the shipsis bott, [boat,] and so sav his lyff.”—*Calendar of State Papers*, 1509-1573, p. 72.

In June 30th, 1535, Philip Roche, merchant of Kinsale, sends “two falcons, three merlons, a sparrowhawk, and two grey-hounds” to Crumwell, the minister of Henry VIII., by one Davy Shihan, (Sheehan) “to pray his help to get the patent for Kinsale renewed, and to have the king's gift of cocket to maintain the walls of Kinsale.” It is then added the same patent [the old patent] was sent last year, by the council and commons of Kinsale.—*Calendar of State Papers from 1509-1573*, p. 13.

* *Fransmene* —This paper is a curious specimen of the different ways in which the same word, or name, was spelled in the same document. The word Frenchmen is spelled “*Fransmene*,” “*Franshmene*,” and “*Franshmen*.” It would seem as if the brave townsmen of Kinsale studied *variety* in spelling.

For the account of the Spanish landing at this port, under the command of Don Juan de Aquila, and the consequent siege and battle, between Mountjoy and Hugh O'Neil, we refer the reader to the previous pages of this history. For this rebellion, if we may call it such, the town of Kinsale was supposed to have forfeited its charter.

Prince Maurice, the nephew of the ill-fated Charles I., entered the harbour of Kinsale at the end of January, 1649, and his brother, Prince Rupert, with sixteen ships, displaying black jacks for the murdered king, on the 10th of February. Oliver Cromwell visited Kinsale, either in the December of the same year, or in January, 1650, when he handed over the keys, with which he had been presented, to Colonel Stubber. (See page 110.) James II. entered this harbour, with a French fleet and army, the 12th of March, 1689. The Earl (afterwards Duke) of Marlborough came here the 2nd of October, 1690, and Major-General Tettau, and Colonel Fitzpatrick, on the 3rd, when they took the old and new forts, and Ringrone Castle. These were the last and most important political and warlike events connected with this old corporate town.

The old corporation or government, by a sovereign and burgesses, no longer exists. It comes under the new Irish Municipal and Corporation Act, and is governed by Town Commissioners, who, I find by the public papers, have just disposed of the mace and other insignia of the old corporation by public auction.

“ The insignia of this ancient corporation were put up to public auction, last week, by the Town Commissioners. They consisted of a mace, punch-bowl, and ladle, all silver. The two latter articles

were purchased by some of the resident gentry. The mace, the most interesting relic of the whole, was knocked down to the Rev. Dr. Neligan, Rector of St. Mary's Shandon. It is very heavy, weighing $79\frac{3}{4}$ ounces of old hall-marked silver. It is about three feet nine inches in length, and screws into two parts for the convenience of carriage or packing. It has the ancient arms of Kinsale engraved on the sides."—*Cork Daily Reporter*, May 13, 1861.

They might have parted with the punch-bowl and ladle, but to sell the old mace was in very bad taste indeed. It is more than bad taste; it is a sin and sacrilege, against those old and hallowed feelings, which form the basis of what we style true patriotism:

"Is there a man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself has said,
 This is my own, my native land!
Whose heart hath ne'er within him burn'd,
As home his footsteps he hath turn'd,
From wandering on a foreign strand."

The town is pleasantly situated, near the sea. The old houses, climbing the sides of the hills, have a picturesque appearance. The barrack, containing accommodation for 600 men, stands on a fine eminence. Charles Fort,* mounting six 24 and six 32 pounders, commands the entrance of the harbour. On the tongue of land, round which the Bandon river winds, we have the outlines of the old fort, with its curtains and counterscarps, that give a very correct idea of Spanish engineering and fortification in the days of our Elizabeth, and Philip, King of Spain.

The general shipping trade of the town is considerable. Vessels drawing more than 10 feet cannot cross the bar at low water. The usual anchorage is

* *Charles Fort*, so called in honor of Charles II. It was begun in 1670, and completed at the cost of £73,000. It then mounted 100 pieces of brass cannon, carrying from a 24 to a 42 pound ball.

off the village of Cove; but the river Bandon is navigable for 12 miles—to Collier's Quay—for vessels of about 200 tons.

Fish is the staple trade of Kinsale. Sprats and herrings are taken in seines, within the bay, as far as the Old Head; haddock, mackarel, turbot, gurnet, cod, ling, hake and conger eels, in the open sea, and salmon in the river.

The fishermen and their families live on the outskirts of the town, called Scilly, or the "World's End." They were originally English, who came over in Queen Elizabeth's time. Dr. Smith says, "They never marry out of the village, so that they are all related to each other." He quotes the following lines as descriptive of their fishing village:—

" And on the broken pavement, here and there,
Doth many a stinking sprat and herring lie;
A brandy and tobacco shop is near,
And hens, and hogs, and dogs, are feeding by;
And here a sailor's jacket hangs to dry."

About four miles south-west of Kinsale is Kilbri-
tain, or Cill-Britain, once described as "a fair town in
the barony of Carbery and county of Cork." Kilbri-
tain is the residence of Lieut.-Colonel Alcock Stawell.
Here stood an old castle, erected by Sir John de
Courcy, of Kinsale. There is a story that he pawned
it to Mac Carthy Reagh for a white weazle; that the
weazle died, and Mac Carthy retained the castle. De
Courcy was afterwards slain by Mac Carthy, in the
island of Inchidonny, in the harbour of Clonakilty, in
1295. We tell, in volume i., page 148, how young
Gerald, of Kildare, the brother of Silken Thomas and

the Fair Geraldine, sought refuge here, and how Manus O'Donnell, who married his aunt, attempted to betray him.

To the south-east of Kilbrittain is Coolmaine Castle, the seat of the Honorable Colonel Bernard. The old castle was possessed by the men of Bandon in 1642, and kept in English hands ever since.

About four miles to the west of Coolmaine is the village or small post town of Timoleague, where it is probable St. Molaga had a house or cell.* The Four Masters say the monastery for Franciscan friars was founded in 1240, "by Mac Carthy Reagh, Lord of Carbery, and his own tomb was erected in the friary. In this monastery also, Barrymore, O'Mahony of Carbery, and the Baron Courcy are interred." Here also are the tombs of the O'Cullananes, the O'Donovans, the Deasys, and the O'Heas.

About five miles south of Timoleague, on the shore to the west of the Seven-Heads, is Dunworly Bay, so famous for its Irish Beads. The Rev. Dr. Neligan, of Cork, found some hundreds of these beads, of various colors, on the strand. For an account of them, see *Papers Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, vol. ii., pp. 59-61, new series. It has been suggested that they were used for devotional purposes at Timoleague Abbey. Some suspect they are of more ancient origin and use. We learn from another paper of the *Kilkenny Archaeological Society*, (vol. i., p. 149, new series,) that Lord Londesborough has an amber bead, *inscribed with an Ogham*. The following passage from Doctor

* *House or cell*.—Timoleague—*Tlach-Molaga*—"The house of Molaga." This saint was a native of Fermoy, in which district he founded a monastery.

Smith's *History of Cork*, (vol. ii., p. 406,) gives some significance to the Dunworly beads. "In the barony of Ibowne, in a place called Dunworly, on a high cliff, is one of these caverns, which the force of the sea has worked about half-way, so that the cavity hangs over the precipice, and is quite exposed." Here, he says, is one of these "works of stone, which the Irish name coharas." He describes another at Rosscarbery. "The roof of each cell consisted of a Gothic arch, formed of stiff clay." He next quotes the Rev. Mr. Marmaduke Cox, who, writing in 1755, describes another in the parish of Aghabulloge, with fifteen chambers and five hundred skeletons.

After making all due allowance for exaggeration here, and reducing the five hundred skeletons to fifty, or, if the reader wishes, to five, there is something more left than a mere *umbra* or shadow. There were three skulls, and one "more perfect and clean" than the rest, with "teeth very regular and distinct," and a "beautiful carved wood comb," that may have passed through beautiful hair. A string of beads would crown this lady's toilet. But beads and ornaments of various kinds are *often* found in the sepulchres of the dead. Now, if the Dunworly cavern may be ranked as sepulchral, and if it was "*quite exposed*," as Dr. Smith says, to the sea, which had "*worked about half way*" into it, is it unlikely the Dunworly beads, which Doctor Neligan picked up among the sand, were washed out of it? The *Kilkenny Archæological Journal*, (vol. ii., p. 8, new series,) contains an illustration of a very curious glass bead, found at Ballintlea, about a quarter of a mile from the Rath of Ballinaclough, in the Queen's County.

To the south of Timoleague is Abbey Mahon,* and the ruins of a monastery, founded by Benardine monks, and near the mouth of Clonakilty harbour, Courtmacsherry, a house, built by Hodnett, an Englishman, who came from Shropshire, and assumed the Irish name of Sherry, or Mac Sherry.

Inchidonny Island lies in the mouth of Clonakilty Bay. By an inquisition held in Cork, (Nov. 4, 1584,) it was escheated, for want of heirs, to the crown. It is now the property of Thomas Hungerford, Esquire. The Hungerfords are the descendants of very noble ancestors. Sir Thomas Hungerford was Speaker of the English Commons in 1398; his son, Walter, Lord Hungerford, fought under Henry V. at Agincourt, where he took the Duke of Orleans prisoner. He was Lord High Treasurer under Henry VI. The family came to the county Cork in 1640 or 1641, where they got various grants of land.

The following is an extract from the Survey Book † of the Grand Jury of the county of Cork, found in Dive Downes' Diary :—

“ The Island of Inchidonny, als. the Isle of Man, the three greeves of Carhoo-Duffee, on the north of the said island, and the three greeves of Kineene, lying on the north west part of the said island, in the diocese of Rosse and county of Corke, set to Richard Hungerford.”

* *Abbey Mahon.* The eighteen ploughlands, in the parish of Abbey Mahon were granted to the abbey by Lord Barry, but the abbey was never finished, and at the dissolution of religious houses the property was seized by the crown.

† *Survey Book.* “ In the hands of the Treasurer of the county of Corke are three books, each of them containing an account of the lands in the several baronies of the said county Corke. There are also two other books in his custody, containing copies of the presentments made by Grand Juries. The original presentments are kept by the Deputy Clerk of the Crown for the county of Cork, in a chest, in his lodgings in Corke.”—*Dive Downes' Diary.*

Clonakilty is a post and market town, twelve miles from Bandon and thirty-two miles from Cork. It is governed by town commissioners. It was formerly governed by a sovereign and burgesses, like Kinsale. It was a borough town, and sent members to the Irish parliament. It was incorporated in 2nd of James I., through the interest of the Earl of Cork. At the breaking out of the civil war in 1641, the English settlers in Clonakilty fled en masse to Bandon, which was a walled town. Lord Forbes, a Scottish nobleman, who had served with distinction under Gustavus Adolphus, marched to the relief of Clonakilty, where he left two companies of Scotch troops, and some Bandon militia, and pressed on to Rath-Barry. The Irish rose in his absence, and cut off the Scotch regiments, the Bandon men making good their retreat to an old fort near Ross, where they maintained their ground till reinforced by Lord Forbes. The Irish retreated, and made for Inchidonny, in Clonakilty harbour, but the tide coming in, a number of them were drowned. On Lord Forbes' return to the town, he found some of the English settlers imprisoned in the market-house, who firmly believed they were to be burned alive, as a *feu de joie* for the victory of the Irish over the Scotch.

A very good classical school was established here in 1808, by the Earl of Shannon, who assigned a fine house and some land towards its support. Here that pure and noble-minded lady, Miss Donovan, established a female school in connexion with the National Board, which was a model for the whole county, and did much for the moral and social advancement of the females of the town and neighbourhood, where the influence of

her good works and noble nature will be long felt. The Rev. Doctor Collins, B.C. Bishop of Cloyne and Ross, who was examined by a committee of the House of Commons on the state of the poor of Ireland, and the author of several tracts on the same subject, was born in Clonakilty. It is also the birth-place of the Right Hon. Rickard Deasy, LL.D., one of the Barons of the Exchequer, who was member for this county from 1855 to 1860.

Ten miles north-east of Clonakilty, is Dunmanway,* styled by Doctor Smith, a pleasant thriving little town. It is a market and post town, in the parish of Fanlobbus. It consists of one street, of about half-a-mile in length. There is a Protestant church, a Catholic chapel, and a Methodist meeting-house in this town. The Commissioners of the National Board† have established a model school here. The town of Dunmanway is intimately associated with the name of Sir Richard Cox, the historian and Irish Lord Chancellor. We learn from his "Autobiography," edited by Mr. Caulfield, that Sir Richard Cox was born in Bandon, the 25th of March, 1650. His grandfather came from Wiltshire, and settled at Kilworth, "and bore his share in the calamity of 1641." His father, a "very strong and valiant person," a captain in Major-General Jephson's regiment of horse, was murdered by Captain Norton, who stabbed him with a pen-knife as they

* *Dun-na-m-beann*, or "Fort of Gables," now anglicised into *Dunmanway*. The castle was built in 1607, by Catherine, the daughter of Thomas of Drogheda, eighth Earl of Desmond, "a truly hospitable woman."

† *National Board*. The number of children on the roll of *National Schools*, in this county, on the 31st December, 1859, was—Catholics, 17,205; Protestants of all denominations, 516. The numbers in the province of Munster, were Catholics, 49,092; Protestants, 1974. Total of all denominations, 51,066.

were walking together. His mother, "an ingenious and pretty black woman," was daughter to Walter Bird, "thrice sovereign, and a long time Recorder of Clonakilty." She had been married before, but her former husband, Captain Batten, was killed at the siege of Dungarvan. She did not long survive the second calamity, but, "through grief, fell into consumption, and died the following winter." Richard Cox's uncle, John Bird, took care of the future Lord Chancellor, and sent him to school to Thomas Barry, of Clonakilty, where he made some progress in classics, rhetoric, logic, and physics. He attributes his success in life to his honesty. Let us hear his account of it:

"The rise of my fortune sprung from a principle of honesty, and I thank God I can truly say, that from my infancy, I have had a great regard for religion, sincerity, and virtue. I owed a cob,* which, by driblets, I had lost at the truck-table, and being dunned for it, I stole one from my uncle, but being checked by my principle, I restored it immediately, and resolved to take some lawful course to pay that debt, and furnish myself with more money."

His uncle bound him to an attorney, at which profession he made money enough to keep himself in good clothes and good company, and finally to go to England, where he met the Earl of Cork, who was very kind to him. He returned from England the 11th of January, 1673, came to Bandon, his birth-place, and, by his uncle's advice, married Mary Bourne, she being fifteen and he not fully twenty-four. "This was the rock I had like to split upon, for though she proved a very good wife, yet being disappointed in her portion, which was ill paid by her mother, and in driblets, and from

* Cob, a Spanish rix or cross-dollar, weighing 17 dwts., and valued at 4s. 2d.

whom I received other unkindnesses, I retired into the country, and lived at Clonakilty for seven years, but very plentifully and pleasantly."

After this he becomes Recorder of Kinsale, and makes £500 a-year of his practice. Here he made the acquaintance of Sir Robert Southwell, Secretary of State to King William. He became one of Sir Robert's private secretaries, and by his influence was advanced to the position of second Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, from which he managed to climb to the Irish woolsack.

Dunmanway owes everything to Sir Richard Cox, who established an English colony here, made new roads and removed the parish church * into his new town.

Here Sir Richard established the manufacture of linen, diapers, fustians, and girtwebs. He gave a house rent free to the man who, through the year, had made the best and greatest quantity of linen, and had the following inscription, in gold letters, placed over his door:—

"DATUR DIGNIORI :

This House is rent free, for the superior industry of the Possessor."

The following description of the industry and prosperity, which once prevailed in this thriving little town, is well worthy of record:—

"Sir Richard also gave premiums to the apprentices and journeymen, and to the girls of the spinning school, according to their merits. Those who bought and sold the greatest quantity of linen cloth manufactured in this country, at the fair of this place, had

* *Parish church.*—The present new church of Fanlobbus was erected in 1821, at a cost of £1,000.

premiums also ; and so greatly has this manufacture increased since its first settlement in this country, but a very few years ago, that in 1748 there were, by a moderate computation, 400 hogsheads of flax seed sown on this side of the county.

" But its effects will still appear in a stronger light, from the increase of the number of houses and inhabitants in Dunmanway. In 1735 there were not more than 60 very indifferent houses, 12 not inhabited, or by beggars only, and 30 by people who were for the most part poor and idle, for want of employment. In May, 1747, there were 87 houses, which contained 250 Protestants and 307 Papists, in all 557. There were reckoned in the town 87 flax wheels and 51 woollen wheels. In May, 1749, the houses were increased to 117, containing 405 Protestants and 402 Papists, in all 807. In all the houses there were 226 flax wheels and 22 woollen wheels, besides those of the spinning school. On the first of May, Sir Richard annually appointed a review of all the wheels, on a pretty green near the town, which makes no inelegant entertainment, to see so many young creatures rescued from want, idleness, and misery, decked out in decent apparel, earned by their own industry ; and to countenance this review, the young ladies of the best distinction exhibited their skill in spinning in this public assembly."

Sir Richard Cox died the 3rd of May, 1733, at the advanced age of eighty-three.

To the south-west of Clonakilty is Castle-Freke, the noble residence and beautiful park of Lord Carbery. It was formerly called Rath-Barry, from an ancient fortalice, of the Barrys, which stood here. It was in the possession of Sir John Freke, baronet, when Smith wrote his history. The present Lord Carbery is descended from George Evans,* who was created Baron Carbery, of Carbery, in 1715. His second son, John,

* *George Evans.* " The family of Evans claim descent from Elystan Glodrydd, Prince Fferlyys, founder of the IV. Royal Tribes. In the sixteenth century two of the family settled in Ireland. John Evans, ancestor of the Lords Carbery ; and Robert Evans, from whom derives the family of Evans of Baymount, County Dublin, and Robinstown, County Westmeath."—*Burke's Peerage.*

“ There, also, where the winged ships were seen,
In liquid waves to cut their foamy way.
And thousand fishers, numbered to have been,
In that wide lake, looking for plenteous prey,
Of fish, which they with bait used to betray,
Is now no lake, nor any fisher's store,
Nor ever ships shall sail there any more.”—*Spenser*.

This ancient cathedral town was formerly called Ross-Alithri, the "Wood of the Pilgrims." The cathedral is said to have been founded, in the beginning of the sixth century, by St. Faehnan Mongach, "the Hairy," who had been Abbot of Molana, a monastery on an island in the Blackwater, near Youghal. His memory is held in great veneration in Rosscarbery, of which diocese he is patron saint. The following interesting tradition is related of him: It was his daily habit to retire to the side of a hill, near the town, for private prayer. It happened one day that he left his prayer-book behind him. The night was very wet, but the prayer-book was as dry, in the morning, as Gideon's fleece — "*the angels had built a small chapel over it.*" This little chapel, or oratory, stood on the hill side. Doctor Smith says it was repaired by a person, who, in a fit of sickness, had vowed, if he recovered, "to build a church." To build a church, and rebuild an oratory,* are different things.

About a mile to the west of Ross is Banduff Castle, in Irish Beann-Dubh, "the Black Gable," built by Catherine, daughter of Thomas, eighth Earl of Desmond. Smith says it was built by the O'Donovans,

* *Rebuild an oratory.* This parsimonious penitent! the little oratory, which were but 12 feet 1
sick ———." Probably he may have pleaded
built on the foundation of the angels, for
covetousness.

and adds, "near it, at Ballyvenine, are the ruins of the largest house in Carbery, erected by Sir William Coppinger." Two miles west, is the small but excellent harbour of Glandore, on the heights around which a number of pleasant seats are springing up. Here are the ruins of Glandore Castle, built by Barrett in 1215.

To the west of Glandore harbour is the parish of Myross, in Irish, Gardha, "a garden,"—for the land is very good—and the village of Union Hall. There are extensive ruins in this parish, at Carrigillihy, supposed to belong to the Abbey de Sancto Mauro, founded, some say, by Diarmid Mac Carthy, King of Cork, for Cistercian monks. In this parish is Bawnlahan, one of the houses of O'Donovan, of Castle Donovan, chief of that ancient family—"a worthy and courteous gentleman," writes Smith. This is the O'Donovan mentioned in the keen composed for Sir Richard Cox.

The O'Donovans are descended from Eoghan the Splendid. He contended with Con of the Hundred Battles, who drove him out of Ireland into Spain, where he married Beara, the king's daughter. But he soon returned, at the head of a powerful army, and put into a harbour in Munster, which he called *Bear-Haven*, in honor of his wife. He again met Con, whom he defeated in ten successive engagements, winning the supreme chieftaincy of the southern half of Ireland. But the half of Ireland did not satisfy the Splendid Eoghan. He saw that Con's revenues, derived from ships in Dublin and other ports, were greater than his own, and proposed an equal distribution of profits, which Con refused, so to battle they went again. They met on the plain of Lena or Moylena, in the

Queen's County, where Con took the southern hero by surprise. Eoghan was slain by Goul, the son of Morna.

He left two sons by his Spanish wife—Oilioll Olum, (who succeeded his father) and Lughaidh Lagha, a champion of extraordinary strength and bravery. Olum was succeeded by Eoghan, the father of Cormac Cas, the ancestor of the O'Briens of Thomond, and of Fiacha, the parent of the O'Donovans, and of what are called the seven royal families of Munster. The Donovan from whom the family name is derived, is he of Bruree, who united with Mahony and Ivor the Dane, in the treacherous murder of Mahon, the brother of Brian Boru, as recorded in the first chapter of this history.

This great family is divided into three great septs, the Clan-Cahill, Clan-Loughlin, and Clan Eneslis. The O'Donovans of Bawnlahan and Castle Donovan, were chieftains of Clan-Cahill. Muldowdy O'Morrison, a southern poet, composed an ode on the accession of Donnell O'Donovan to the chieftainship, in 1639-1640, in which he hints that Donnell had rivals for that high honor, but adds that his bravery, hospitality, and bounty, marked him as the true chieftain, and threw all his competitors into the shade. The poet concludes with a eulogium on his wife, Sheela, or Julia, the daughter of Rory O'Shaughnessy, of the royal house of Connaught.

This Donnell was a loyal subject* throughout the civil war, and therefore had his property confiscated in favor of the Cromwellians. He died in August, 1660.

* *A loyal subject.*—It was his father who, in 1586, burned the bishop's house, at Ross, see p. 354 and who met O'Neill, at Inniscarra, in 1599, to prepare for a new campaign against the queen's government.

Conor Cam O'Daly, of Muintir-Bhaire, composed his elegy, a copy of which is in the possession of Dr. O'Donovan, the learned Editor of the *Four Masters*. His wife, Sheela, who was twenty years younger than her husband, died in 1680, just twenty years after him. She also had her elegy.

Their son, Daniel IV., petitioned Charles II. for the restoration of his father's property, and got back the manor of Raheen, but no part of the manor of Castle Donovan, which the king, by patent, had granted to Lieutenant Evanson, at an annual rent of £22 4s. 11d.

This Daniel, better known afterwards as Colonel O'Donovan, was committed in 1684, by Sir Emanuel Moore, on a charge of treason, for conspiring the death of the king, in his lodgings at Whitehall, but he was entirely acquitted. We find him, July 1689, a colonel of a regiment of foot, in the service of James II. In October, 1690, he was deputy-governor of Charles Fort, in Kinsale, which he surrendered to Marlborough on honorable terms.

He was required, at the conclusion of the James and Williamite war, to march with his regiment to Cork harbour, and there to embark. The order is dated 12th Nov., 1691, and signed "Jo. WANEHOPE." It would appear that Colonel O'Donovan did not obey this order, for on the 4th of January, 1692, we have a "Permit," signed "B. TOWNSEND," for "Colonel O'Donovan to travell to Timoleague, to deliver himselfe a prisoner unto the High-Sheriff, without molestation, he behaving himselfe as becometh." He was alive in January, 1701.

He left by his wife, Victoria, daughter of Captain

Coppinger, one daughter, Victoria, who married Captain Cornelius O'Donovan, the ancestor of the present O'Donovan, Morgan William, of Montpellier, Douglas, in this county. The colonel had, by a second marriage with Elizabeth Tonson, a son, Captain Richard O'Donovan, who had a son, Daniel, who, failing in male heirs, leaves, by will, the property to Morgan, of Montpellier :—

“ I leave my estate clear, as by my settlement will appear, to my eldest son, Richard O'Donovan, and his heirs, male, lawfully begotten ; and in failure of issue, male, in him, to my second son, John Donovan, and his heirs, male, lawfully begotten, In failure of issue, male or female, in either, I leave the reversion of my estates to Morgan Donovan, Esquire, now living in the city of Cork, and to his heirs, male, lawfully begotten ; subject, in case of accidents, to the sum of £10,000 sterling to my eldest daughter, Ellen O'Donovan, and the like sum to be paid to my second daughter, Jane O'Donovan, and to their heirs, and if either should die the survivor to come in for the £20,000.”—See *Dr. O'Donovan's Four Masters*, Appendix, pp. 2458, 2459.

John O'Donovan, Esquire, LL.D., is a descendant of the Castle-Donovan branch of this family. Edmond Donovan, of Bawnlahan, killed the eldest son of O'Sullivan Beare, in some dispute about the boundary of their estates, and fled the county of Cork, settling at Gaulstown, in the county Kilkenny, previously to 1643. Doctor O'Donovan's father was an Edmond. He was born in 1760, and married, in 1788, to Eleanor Hoberlin, of Rochestown, and died, 29th July, 1817, enjoining his eldest son, who sat by his bedside while he expired, to remember his descent. He requested that his body should be buried “ along with the good men of Dunkitt, but not under the large tombstone.”

I need hardly say that these injunctions were piously observed by his children.

To the west of Myross is the fishing village of Castletownsend, situated on the north side of the harbour of Castlehaven. The harbour is half-a-mile wide, and well sheltered; vessels of 500 tons burden can anchor here. There is a ferry from this to Myross. Castletownsend derives its name from the seat of Colonel Townsend. For an account of the siege of Colonel Townsend's castle, see page 195 of this volume.

The town of Skibbereen lies five or six miles to the north-north-west of Castletownsend. It is a market and post town, in the parish of Abbeystowry.* It is situated on the southern bank of the river Ilen; and consists of seven streets. We conclude that the last census will give this town a population of over 4,000, although no part of Ireland suffered more, or lost more of its population during the great famine of 1846-1848, than the town and district of Skibbereen. Skibbereen, as well as Dunmanway, Clonakilty, and Bandon, *had* its woollen and linen trade; but this belongs to their past history. It is well situated for trade. The tide, from the harbour of Baltimore, flows up to the town, and the river Ilen is navigable for vessels of 200 tons to Old Court, two miles below the town. The parochial church of Abbeystowry is situated in Bridgetown. Here is a R.C. chapel, a beautiful Grecian edifice, erected in 1826, under the direction of Doctor Collins, R.C. Bishop of Ross.

* *Abbeystowry*.—To the west of Skibbereen stood the old abbey, which gave name to the parish. "In it," writes Smith, "are several old tombs, and in particular a large one of the Roches." It was here, as we learn from Dive Downes, that the rector demanded, as a burying fee, "the second best suit of clothes of the dead man, or 6s. 8d. in lieu thereof." See p. 360 of this volume.

About five miles to the south-west of Skibbereen is the old English borough town of Baltimore. It belonged originally to the O'Driscolls, who possessed every acre of Carbery* before the English invasion. The Mac Carthy's, who afterwards became the lords paramount, lived at Cashel, the O'Sullivan's at Knockraffan and Clonmel, and the O'Donovans at Croom and Bruree. The harbour of Baltimore was at one time crowded with O'Driscoll's fishing boats and war pinnaces. The O'Driscolls were bold sailors, who did some trade in the pirating line. Fineen, or Florence, and his base-born son, Gilly Duff, or the Black Boy, were on the cliffs on the 20th of February, 1573, from which they spied four vessels beating about in the storm before the harbour's mouth. They descended, took to their boats, and went aboard the *La Sancta Maria de Soci*, which was laden with 100 tons of rich Portugal wine, and offered to pilot the vessel into the harbour for three pipes of the precious juice. The offer was accepted, and the captain and crew afterwards invited to dine at the castle, where they were clapped into irons, and the ship plundered. The wine had been consigned to Waterford merchants, who, on hearing the news, fitted out an armed vessel, suddenly entered the harbour of Baltimore, and boarded the wine ship, from which Gilly Duff O'Driscoll and 24 of his comrades escaped, after reducing the 100 pipes of wine to 25. The Mayor of Waterford fitted out another expedition to revenge the robbery. They landed on Sherkin Island, and seized O'Driscoll's castle of Dun-

* *Every acre of Carbery.* The O'Driscoll and his co-relatives had the whole of Corca Laighe, which is co-extensive with the diocese of Ross.—*Vide Corca Laighe*, edited by John O'Donovan, Esq., LL.D., M.R.I.A.

and carried off about a hundred of the English to Algiers; and among the number, William Gunter—"a person of some credit"—his wife and seven sons. The Algerines were pilotted into the harbour by "one Hacket, a Dungarvan fisherman." The men of Waterford had not yet forgotten the seizure of their wine ship.

The Earl of Cork, writing to the lords of the English council some time after this, says:—"They certainly intend another attempt* on these coasts the next summer, and with forces to surprise the whole coast at once, by dispersing their fleet to every part, according to the strength of such places. This report so suddenly succeeding the former disaster, hath begotten so many doubts and fears in the minds of the inhabitants thereabouts, as, unless some timely prevention interpose, it is conceived it may dispeople the sea coasts of the English inhabitants, whereby the harbours may be left open to enemies, the fishermen of the coast and in the deep may be utterly overthrown, and his majesty deprived of their services for supply of his navy on all occasions. The pilchard fishery also may thereby, and in all probability will, be interrupted, and his majesty much hindered thereby in his customs. And lastly, which is not least considerable, the kingdom may be thereby deprived of the benefit they may otherwise have, of the importation of coyne, there having been some years £15,000, and in some other years £20,000, observed to have been imported into this kingdom for

* *Another attempt.* In Lord Cork's letter to Lord Dorchester, with a map of Baltimore, he says the Turks were to attempt the forts of Cork and Kinsale, the one being the fort of Hawlbolyn, at the mouth of the river of Cork, and the fort of Castle-park, near Kinsele, from both which forts the wards and ordnance were withdrawn before." The letter is dated from "Dublin, 19th February, 1631"

pilchards, and most of the money coming from the French or Hollanders.”

The Earl of Cork took a deep interest in these fisheries. The following entry occurs in his diary:—

“April 16, 1616.—Sent Ennys O’Driscoll £12 sterling, to begin to sett up the Pilcher fishing at Long Islande, and I paid him thereof, in money, £9 15s., and gave him my acquittance for 45s. sterling, being by him due to me for my last Easter rent, with a warrant to take out of my woods, in Sleight Teag O’Mahowne’s lands, timber for their fishe presses and fyahe houses.”

I find that the fisheries,* on this coast, had begun to decline even in Smith’s time, or more than 100 years ago. Writing of Bantry, he says, “A few years ago, when the pilchards frequented this bay, it was a very thriving town, but for want of employment is again fallen into decay.”

The present state of the fisheries on our coast, from Youghal to Castletown, is by no means encouraging. The report of the Commissioners for 1857 states, that our fisheries in Youghal, Queenstown, Kinsale, and Castletown, are decreasing. The same may be said of Skibbereen, and indeed of every other fishing station on our coast. Our fisheries received a fearful blow during the famine, when fishing boats were left to rot on the shore. The efforts made of late years to revive the deep sea fisheries, have not been successful.

Bantry is a small post and market town, at the northern extremity of Bantry Bay, in a valley encircled by lofty mountains. This place gives title to Lord Bantry. Richard White, of Bantry, was raised

* *Fisheries.* Mr. Richard Mead, of Bandon, caught and cured 380,800 fish, of all kinds, in 1749; and Mr. James Young, 482,500 herrings, and 231 barrels of sprats, the preceding year.

to the Irish peerage as Baron of Bantry, the 31st of March, 1797, for his loyalty and zeal, during the French attempt, under General Hoche and Wolfe, to make a landing at Bantry Bay, described in the ninth chapter of this volume.

Nothing can be more wild or magnificent than the coast from Glandore to the extreme west of the county, with its bluff headlands. Dean Swift, who spent a summer in this neighbourhood, describes it in his *Carbriæ Rupes*, parts of which remind us of Virgil's best and boldest style:—

*“Ecce ingens fragmen scopoli, quod vertice summo
Desuper impendet, nullo fundamine nixum
Decidit in fluctus, maria undique, et undique saxa
Horrisono stridore tonant, et ad æthera murmur
Erigitur —”*

The principal headlands are Toe Head, the Bill of Cape Clear, Brow Head, Mizen Head, Three-castle-head, Sheep's Head, and Dursey Head; within which is the far-famed Bantry Bay, which is as open-mouthed as a shark. On the left, as we enter the harbour, is Beare Island, and on the opposite and western shore the village of Castletown Bearehaven, to the south of which are the ruins of the famous Castle of Dunboy, once the strong-hold of O'Sullivan Beare, now in the possession of Mr. Puxley.

Mr. Puxley, of Dunboy, was shot by Morty Oge O'Sullivan, in 1754. A military party was dispatched from Cork to Bearehaven to apprehend the murderer. O'Sullivan had fortified his house, which he defended till his ammunition was exhausted, when he rushed forth and broke through his enemies, but when clearing a hedge, was shot through the heart.

It is asserted, but from all I can learn, I believe incorrectly, that O'Sullivan Beare was betrayed by his servant, Scully. Be this false or true, the story has given rise to some spirited lines in "*Blackwood's Magazine*." We give the first two verses :—

"The sun on Ivera no longer shines brightly,
The voice of her music no longer is sprightly;
No more to her maidens the light dance is dear,
Since the death of our darling, O'Sullivan Beare.

Scully, thou false one, you basely betrayed him,
In his strong hour of need, when thy right hand should aid him;
He fed thee, he clad thee, you had all could delight thee;
You left him, you sold him—may Heaven requite thee."

O'Sullivan's body was lashed to the stern of a king's cutter, and towed through the sea, to Cork, where his head was spiked on the South-gate. Some of O'Sullivan's followers were killed and others wounded in his defence. One of them, named Connell, is the reputed author of the following keen, written in Cork gaol, the night before his execution :—

ELEGY ON O'SULLIVAN BEARE.

"Murty, my dear and loved master, you carried the sway for strength and generosity. It is my endless grief and sorrow—sorrow that admits of no comfort—that your fair head should be gazed at as a show upon a spike, and that your noble frame is without life. I have travelled with you, my dear and much-loved master, in foreign lands. You moved with kings in the royal prince's army: but it is through the means of Puxley I am left in grief and confinement in Cork, locked in heavy irons, without the hope of relief. The great God is good and merciful; I ask His pardon and His support, for I am to be hanged at the gallows to-morrow, without doubt. The rope will squeeze my neck, and thousands will lament my fate. May the Lord have mercy on my master. It is for his sake I am now in their power.

"Kerryonians, pray for us! Sweet and melodious is your voice.

My blessing I give you ; but you will never see me again among you alive. Our heads will be put upon a spike for a show ; and under the cold snow of night, and the burning sun of summer ! Oh, that I was ever born ! Oh, that I ever returned to Bearehaven ! Mine was the best of masters that Ireland could produce. May our souls be floating to-morrow in the rays of endless glory.

“ The lady his wife ! Heavy is her grief, and who may wonder at that, were her eyes made of green stone, when he, her dear husband, was shot by that ball. Had he retreated, our grief would be lighter, but the brave man, for the pride of his country, could not retreat. He has been in king's palaces. In Spain he got a pension. Lady Clare gave him robes bound with gold lace, as a token of remembrance. He was a captain on the coast of France, but he should return to Ireland for us to lose him.”

The rocks and mountains of Beare, to which he must needs return, are, to the present day, both wild and sterile, but here, as in other places, the riches of the centre more than compensate for the sterility of the surface. The copper mines on the O'Sullivan Beare property, now in the possession of the Puxleys, are the richest in Ireland. It is to be regretted that the maps of the Ordnance Survey, intended to indicate the geological structure of this district, are erroneously coloured. The colouring indicates the old red sandstone, which is condemned by miners as “ non-metalliferous.” Captain William Thomas, a high authority on such a subject, says, “ The whole district south-west of the counties of Cork and Kerry, belong to the clay slate formation, intersected by numerous elvans, dykes, cross-courses, slides and floccans, and is abundantly traversed by metalliferous veins, and from these are obtained the ores of copper, lead, and silver.”

Francis Lisabe, Esquire, C.E., C.M.E., who has lately published a valuable pamphlet, shewing the

erroneous colouring of some of the maps of the Government Geological Survey, has favored me with the following sketch of the principal mines in this district:—

BEAREHAVEN MINE.

“ This mine is private property, and the fortunate parties have for very many years received enormous returns, varying, it is believed, from £30 to £40,000 per annum, and now, at the depth attained, about 200 fathoms, giving evidence of greater richness than ever, and the above large profits are expected to increase. A perfect town is now to be seen at the mines, as it gives employment to between 1,000 and 2,000 men, women and children.

THE GURTIVALLIG MINE.

“ This mine is now being developed by a Dublin Company, with every prospect of becoming a most valuable property, as its indications are of the most flattering description.

KILOVENOGUE-ROOSKA AND GURTACLOONA.

“ All these mines are at present in abeyance, from that unfortunate cause which has destroyed so many really good properties, namely—a want of *capital*, *spirit*, and unanimous feeling, on the part of the shareholders, to prosecute them in a legitimate manner. Large quantities of lead ores, raised from these mines, had reached high prices in the English markets.

DHURADE MINE.

“ This mine has been worked for some years, and has produced large quantities of rich ores of copper. The amphitheatre-like appearance of this mine reminds us of its rich neighbour, Bearehaven; and the late rich discoveries made induce the belief, that in a short time the present spirited proprietors will be *amply rewarded* for their perseverance and energy.

BROW-HEAD MINE.

“ Here is another instance of the want of unanimous feeling in the London shareholders, to carry on these mining operations with the spirit their fine property deserves. This mine, in a very short period, produced a great deal of the richest copper ore, and only requires capital and energy to prove highly remunerative.

CROOKHAVEN MINE.

"This mine, now in full operation, has lately sent a cargo of copper ore to market, and every fathom sunk is proving more and more indicative of great riches in depth.

BALLYCUMISH MINE.

"This mine is, like Bearehaven, a private speculation, and one which must be most satisfactory to all concerned, getting richer and richer as it descends. It is now about 100 fathoms deep, and its *prospects* certainly such as to warrant the outlay now so judiciously expending.

"All the mines I have mentioned are most advantageously situated, good roads making them easy of access. This, together with fine harbours close at hand, cheap and willing labourers, and a geological structure (clay, slate, or killas,) *the most favorable for the production of minerals, must convince the most sceptical, that the county of Cork possesses the elements of a first-rate mining district.*"

Of the Cappagh mines at Skull, W. B. Brady, Esq., C.E., F.G.S., says, in his report of the 5th of October, 1858, "The geological formation of the series is known as primitive schist, clay-slate, having strong parallel elvan courses (granitic porphyry) interstratified with quartzose veins, of a promising description for the lasting productions of copper ore. I am confident," he concludes, "that success will attend the re-working of the [Cappagh] mines, if carried on with prudence and energy." "This mine," says Mr. Lisabe, is now in full work, and the proprietors are proceeding in a legitimate and mining-like manner, and will shortly reap a rich harvest."

CHAPTER XXIV.

POPULATION—HOUSES—LABOUR-MARKET—EMIGRATION—BARONIES AND PARISHES.

THE tables in pages 531-534 give the baronies, the parishes in each barony, the acreage and population of each parish, in 1841 and 1851, so that at a glance we can see the great decrease which occurred during the famine. The population in the East Riding of York, in 1841, was 460,414, which was reduced in 1851 to 351,397, shewing a decrease of 109,027. The population in the West Riding was, in 1841, 312,984, and in 1851 211,761, shewing a decrease of 101,223. It appears from this that the East Riding lost nearly a quarter, and the West Riding nearly a third of its population. But this decrease occurred in five years, for the famine did not begin till 1846. The *five years*, from 1846 to 1851,* would tell a far more fearful tale than the ten years, from 1841 to 1851. The population in 1846—the year before the famine—was greater than the population in 1841. I do not think it could have been less than 800,000; and this was reduced in five years to 563,148. Some baronies lost nearly half; in other places nearly all were swept away.

* *The five years, from 1846 to 1851.*—The increase was *not* great during this period. The population of England had increased 14 per cent. from 1831 to 1841, while that of Ireland had increased but 5½ per cent. When the population was found to press too much upon the labour-market, the natural instinct of safety checked early marriages. There were three marriagable men unmarried in Ireland for every two in England, and one in Scotland, between 1831 and 1841.

The number of houses* in the East Riding, in 1841, was 72,946, of which 2,260 were unoccupied. In 1851 the number was reduced to 54,902, of which 3,885 were unoccupied. The number of houses in the West Riding, in 1841, was 52,373, of which 1,397 were unoccupied. In 1851 the number was reduced to 36,136, of which 2,847 were unoccupied. I expect the census of 1861 will shew a decrease in the number of occupied houses. This decrease, in houses and population, is altogether confined to the country, for in the towns there has been a small increase.†

But, notwithstanding the great decrease, there is reason to believe that even still the Irish labor market is overcrowded, that the supply is greater than the demand. In 1831, out of a population of 1,867,765 males, 20 years of age, 1,277,054 were classed as agriculturalists. We learn from the letter of Mr. Stanley, published by Mr. Nicholls, in his Second Irish Poor Law Report, in October, 1837, that in some parts of Ireland, the labourer was employed on an average but 24 days in the year; in other places 36 days; in others 90 days; in some 160; in Louth it was 210; and in Antrim the majority of the labourers were employed the greater part of the year. I am in possession of returns which shew that before the famine, labourers in and about towns in this county were employed on an average but three days in the week, and

* *Number of houses.* The census of 1851 gives, in this county, 16,216 "fourth-class houses, or mud cabins, having only one room for all the members of the family, of every age and sex. See *Agricultural Statistics, Ireland*, 1860. By an Act, 23 Vict., c. 19, loans may be obtained from the treasury for providing better houses for the labouring classes.

† *Small increase.* We may here and there mark an increase in the population of some parishes, between 1841 and 1851, but this will be found to result from the flocking of the poor into the towns and poorhouses.

tradesmen but two days in the week. From all I can discover the agricultural labourers in this county are not employed, at the present time, more than four days in the week; and I doubt that the average wages, throughout the year, is more than a shilling a-day. Nor have we factories or mills, where a labourer's child may earn two or three shillings a-week.

We cannot be surprised, under such circumstances, at the numbers that leave our shores in search of employment elsewhere. From the 1st of May, 1851, to the 31st of December, 1860, 146,422 emigrated from the county and city of Cork alone. The returns for the year 1860 shew an increase of about a third over 1859. The total number of emigrants from Ireland, from the 1st of May, 1851, to the 1st of September, 1860, was 1,140,982. I make these statements on the authority of the Irish Registrar General.

We may regret to see such numbers leaving our shores, but it is better they should go than starve at home. It is better for those that go and those that remain. The Irish have ever been distinguished for attachment to their country. The *EXILE OF ERIN* is not an overdrawn picture of an expatriated Irishman, but there are no people more sensible of the importance of emigration. There seems of late to prevail amongst them the same sort of natural instinct as that which impels a hive of bees to cast a swarm, or the feathered tribes to leave our shores at the approach of winter. And this state of things will prevail while wages and the means of support in Ireland continue at their present low standard.

EAST RIDING.

ACREAGE AND POPULATION OF PARISHES.

Name of Parish.	No. of Acres.	Population		Name of Parish.	No. of Acres.	Population	
		In 1841	In 1851			In 1841	In 1851
BARRETT'S.				BARONY OF CORK.			
Denoughmore, Part of ..	5011	1554	923	Ballinaboy, Part of ..	649	211	86
Garrycloyne, Part of ..	868	214	178	Carrigaline, Part of ..	6146	3406	2653
Gravagh, Part of ..	13202	5267	2563	Carrigrohane, Part of ..	1605	756	809
Mourneabbey, Part of ..	10055	3515	2100	Currykippane ..	249	990	923
Whitechurch, Part of ..	2623	696	400	Dunbulloge, Part of ..	249	61	45
BARRYMORE.				Inishkenny, Part of ..	2899	1093	951
Ardnageehy ..	16334	4798	3217	Kilcully ..	1759	488	465
Ballycurry ..	3939	1161	773	Killanully, Part of ..	951	225	165
Ballydeleohy ..	2101	1183	851	Kilnaglorry, Part of ..	879	318	327
Ballyspillane ..	2088	603	416	Rathcooney ..	5152	3376	3027
Britway, Part of ..	3670	1126	685	St. Anne's Shandon, Pt. of ..	1855	1552	1564
Caherlag ..	3556	1767	1611	St. Finbar's, Part of ..	8436	8034	8651
Carriaghobill ..	10318	3976	3443	St. Mary's Shandon, Pt. of ..	2106	1114	1198
Castle Lyons, Part of ..	9720	4437	2550	St. Michael's, Part of ..	689	202	188
Clonmel ..	3197	2564	1878	St. Nicholas', Part of ..	572	1110	5474
Clonmult, Part of ..	3329	816	306	Whitechurch, Part of ..	7150	2399	1976
Coole ..	1152	283	189	Tideway ..	1496	..	..
Dunbulloge, Part of ..	16532	5208	3156	MUNICIPAL BOROUGH OF CORK.			
Dungourney, Part of ..	6513	2127	1209	Holy Trinity ..	97	8338	10920
Gortree ..	9043	2832	1745	St. Anne's Shandon, Pt. of ..	1346	23807	24560
Inchinabacky ..	1475	543	401	St. Finbar's, Part of ..	447	6207	6119
Killaspugmullane ..	1852	569	332	St. Mary's Shandon, Pt. of ..	282	14149	14212
Kilquane ..	6046	1802	1216	St. Nicholas', Part of ..	445	16273	13860
Kilshanahan ..	4842	1404	941	St. Paul's ..	25	4563	4468
Knockmourne, Part of ..	953	215	107	St. Peter's ..	40	8103	8809
Lisroold ..	3153	969	699	DUHALLOW.			
Little Island ..	1691	1069	912	Ballyclogh, Part of ..	4635	1643	1073
Mogeesha, Part of ..	3007	1800	1193	Castlemagner ..	7880	3007	2098
Rathcorrack ..	13995	5324	3361	Churchtown, Part of ..	1077	688	276
St. Michael's, Part of ..	1303	395	288	Clonfert ..	62109	17328	15605
Templebodan ..	4735	1583	924	Clonmeen ..	20075	6361	4040
Templenacarriga ..	5208	1574	991	Cullen ..	13674	5490	3238
Templerobin ..	8594	7391	15332	Drishane, Part of ..	2434	890	560
Templeusque ..	4601	1429	1128	Dromtariff ..	15224	7270	4055
Whitechurch, Part of ..	740	273	171	Kilbrin ..	12630	4855	2900
Tideway ..	4134	..	..	Kilcorcoran ..	1292	532	289
CONDONS AND CLANGIBBON.				Kilmeen ..	36710	10380	7000
Aghacross ..	355	104	75	Kilroe ..	919	1798	701
Brigown ..	15212	10614	7749	Kilshannig ..	27594	9348	5473
Castleyons, Part of ..	2998	1099	704	Knocktemple ..	4618	2245	1018
Clondulane ..	4926	1823	1160	Mallow, Part of ..	484	281	135
Derryvillane, Part of ..	693	345	180	Mallow, Part of ..	11543	2350	2006
Dunmahon, Part of ..	37	9	..	Nohavaldaly, Part of ..	1674	691	379
Farahy, Part of ..	1195	309	191	Roskeen ..	741	273	135
Fermoy ..	3480	7513	9432	Subulter ..	7005	2093	1426
Glanworth, Parts of ..	3478	1293	675	Tullylease, Part of ..	7005	2093	1426
Kilcummer, Part of ..	1827	582	409	FERMOY.			
Kilberrery, Part of ..	2934	1847	1342	Ardskeagh ..	1928	280	159
Kilgullane, Part of ..	3369	1777	726	Ballydeloughy ..	1999	796	635
Kilphelan ..	523	201	162	Ballyhay, Part of ..	2438	769	456
Kilworth ..	5457	3246	1943	Ballyhooley ..	5252	2337	1520
Knockmourne, Part of ..	1996	997	449	Bridgetown ..	3239	993	638
Leitrim, Part of ..	5910	2189	1346	Caherdugan ..	6131	1626	1109
Lismore & Mocollop, Pt. of ..	1293	585	243	Carrigdownane ..	797	245	156
Litter, Part of ..	2732	863	469	Carrigleamleary ..	3320	1256	709
Macronee ..	8370	3406	2001	Castletownroche ..	6484	3476	2322
Marshallstown ..	7290	2956	2079	Clenor ..	4289	1348	794
Templenolaga ..	4395	1951	1181	Derryvillane, Part of ..	1133	481	279

Name of Parish.	No. of Acres.	Population		Name of Parish.	No. of Acres.	Population	
		In 1841	In 1851			In 1841	In 1851
Doneraile ..	20441	8350	4846	KINSALE.			
Dunmahon, Part of ..	2265	879	539	Ballinaboy, Part of ..	2960	936	663
Farahy, Part of ..	4298	1783	963	Ballyfeard ..	3461	1113	743
Glanworth, Parts of ..	6201	3539	2299	Ballyfoyle ..	2882	2311	790
Imphrick, Part of ..	3145	1268	709	Ballymartle, Part of ..	5067	1615	1176
Kilcummer ..	1688	646	420	Brinny, Part of ..	883	375	284
Kilcorrery, Part of ..	2612	783	464	Carrigaline, Part of ..	404	71	46
Kilgullane, Part of ..	401	147	84	Cullen ..	4249	1330	981
Killathy ..	3217	1547	884	Dunderrow, Parts of ..	2343	919	596
Killeenemer ..	414	211	122	Inishannon, Part of ..	4320	2544	1721
Kilquane, Part of ..	425	47	9	Kilmonoge ..	3060	1178	912
Litter, Part of ..	2671	1088	602	Kilpatrick, Part of ..	1931	833	555
Mallow, Part of ..	8335	9684	9144	Kinure ..	1987	1121	693
Monanimy ..	8831	3135	1739	Knockavilly, Part of ..	2548	1005	701
Mourneabbey, Part of ..	1380	639	362	Leighmone ..	2716	896	583
Rahan ..	10082	4061	1940	Nohaval ..	2568	1075	709
St. Nathlash ..	1024	899	593	Ringcurran, Part of ..	1361	384	205
Templecroan ..	3865	1802	1154	Templemichael ..	2064	711	530
Wallstown ..	3056	950	531	Tracton ..	5867	2959	1796
				Tideway ..	240	..	..
IMOKILLY.				KINNATALLOON.			
Aghada ..	2458	2835	2484	Aghern ..	3489	1198	919
Ardagh ..	7880	2552	1616	Ballynoe ..	7715	2566	1828
Ballintemple ..	2659	1742	1086	Britway, Part of ..	339	86	53
Ballyoughtera ..	4532	1728	1200	Clonmult, Part of ..	578	146	102
Bohillane ..	1096	572	443	Knockmourne, Part of ..	3886	2212	1478
Clonmult, Part of ..	694	184	86	Mogeely ..	9708	3255	1873
Clonpriest ..	7302	3658	2584				
Cloyne ..	9969	6726	5148	KINSALE.			
Corkbeg ..	2660	1603	1521	Ballymartle, Part of ..	435	136	62
Dangandonovan ..	2928	1113	602	Clontead ..	3097	1274	869
Dungourney, Part of ..	1717	578	322	Dunderrow, Part of ..	1356	429	217
Garranekinnefeake ..	1571	1158	955	Kilroan, Part of ..	245	159	100
Garryvoe ..	1698	966	676	Kinsale ..	377	6182	4634
Ightermurragh ..	5355	3092	2192	Ringcurran, Part of ..	4056	3123	3421
Inch ..	3822	1806	1410	Ringrone, Part of ..	1814	1147	718
Kileredan ..	1014	620	471	Tisaxon ..	1346	498	284
Killeagh ..	5854	2815	2007	Tideway ..	601	..	..
Kilmaedonogh ..	6376	3838	3179				
Kilmahon ..	2949	1785	1334	EAST MUSKERRY, PART OF			
Middleton ..	5712	6636	8158	Aglish ..	6770	2579	1717
Mogeely ..	6429	3120	2218	Athowen ..	4837	1925	1576
Mogeesha, Part of ..	481	904	732	Ballinaboy, Part of ..	1527	599	1087
Rostellan ..	2258	1110	828	Cannaway ..	3225	1547	1241
Titeskin ..	1144	544	371	Carrigrohane, Part of ..	1053	1523	1794
Trabolan ..	830	549	390	Carrigrohanebeg ..	2061	641	428
Youghal ..	4830	12054	11311	Corbally ..	669	193	108
Tideway ..	988	..	..	Desertmore ..	3943	1196	789
				Donaghmore, Part of ..	17297	5687	3379
KERRYCURRINY.				Dunderrow, Part of ..	2734	960	641
Ballinaboy, Part of ..	2834	1003	1072	Garrycloyne, Part of ..	4996	1600	1388
Barnahely ..	894	1183	1165	Grenagh, Part of ..	354	84	97
Carrigaline, Parts of ..	7950	4012	3016	Inishcarra ..	10190	4207	3198
Killanully, Part of ..	1105	352	268	Inishkenny, Part of ..	938	297	227
Kilmonney ..	1430	771	599	Kilbonane ..	4709	1725	1176
Kilpatrick, Part of ..	719	248	130	Kilmurry, Part of ..	159	277	11
Lisclary ..	4304	1432	1040	Kilnaglory, Part of ..	3062	762	539
Marmullane ..	529	1802	2218	Knockavilly, Part of ..	3661	1073	731
Monkstown ..	1510	2138	2123	Magourney ..	5868	2664	1890
Templebreedy ..	2654	1613	1587	Matchy ..	7096	2320	2137
Tideway ..	280	..	..	Moviddy ..	6132	2262	1547
				St. Finbar's, Part of ..	878	365	240
				St. Nicholas, Part of ..	331	90	101

ACREAGE AND POPULATION.

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Name of Parish.	No. of Acres.	Population		Name of Parish.	No. of Acres.	Population	
		In 1841	In 1851			In 1841	In 1851
ORRERY AND KILMORE.				Impbrick, Part of ..	966	191	127
Aglisdrinagh	3309	1026	590	Kilbolane, Part of ..	9885	4101	2274
Ballyclogh, Part of ..	5074	2328	1367	Kilbroney	1876	788	524
Ballyhay, Part of ..	2397	621	459	Kilgrogan	231	6	12
Bregoge	1332	441	277	Kilmacleanine ..	1042	322	198
Buttevant	11582	5042	3885	Lackeen	279	79	61
Churchtown, Part of ..	6969	2689	1627	Liscarroll	4027	2249	1525
Cooliney	1152	437	173	Rathgrogan	3317	5178	5787
Coreomohide, Part of ..	439	139	57	Shandrum	12451	5161	3069
Drumdowney	659	186	108	Tullylease, Part of ..	1286	345	174
Hackmys, Part of ..	63	25	3				

WEST RIDING.

ACREAGE AND POPULATION OF PARISHES.

Name of Parish.	No. of Acres.	Population		Name of Parish.	No. of Acres.	Population	
		In 1841	In 1851			In 1841	In 1851
BANTRY.				Kilmocmoge, Part of ..	1206	104	92
Durrus, Part of -	1587	752	389	Kinneigh	15095	6093	8421
Kilmocmoge, Part of -	57629	14841	11916	Murragh, Part of -	1518	463	330
BRAL.				Rathbarry, Part of -	375	183	109
Kilcaskin, Part of -	35104	5401	3992	Ross, Part of ..	12403	8284	4733
Kilcatherine	21778	6940	4579				
Killiconenagh	19294	7085	6328	WEST CARRERY.			
Kilnamanagh	13808	6061	5000	East Division.			
EAST CARRERY.				Abbeystowry	9395	6295	6900
East Division.				Aghadown	8952	5757	3328
Ballinadee, Part of -	7637	3368	3168	Caheragh, Part of -	1406	631	328
Ballymodan, Part of -	3114	2967	1632	Castlehaven	10542	6056	3762
Ballymonee	7309	3733	2199	Clear Island	1504	1052	819
Brinny, Part of ..	308	107	97	Cragh	7058	6415	4442
Desert, Part of ..	450	404	273	Drinagh, Part of ..	7981	2503	1627
Desertserges, Part of	11614	4821	2573	Dromdaleague ..	18708	5501	3162
Inishannon, Part of ..	2831	1071	708	Kilmacaben, Part of	4271	1950	941
Island, Parts of ..	1367	655	351	Myross	4119	3741	2271
Kilbrittain	4750	1652	895	Tullagh	5349	3090	2374
Kilgarriff, Part of -	3454	5880	4338	Tideway of River Ilen	1552	..	..
Kilmaloda	7354	3281	1495				
Kilmagross	3764	2060	1008	WEST CARRERY.			
Rathelarin	5915	2907	1832	West Division.			
Ringrone, Part of -	2353	1131	743	Caheragh, Part of -	22119	7744	4755
Templebryan	1188	776	319	Durrus, Part of ..	9551	3731	2003
Templequinlan, Part of	922	324	234	Kilcoe	5272	2339	1238
Templetrine, Part of ..	2328	1021	543	Kilcrohane	14587	4856	2768
Timoleague, Part of ..	708	292	197	Kilmocmoge, Part of	5750	1207	729
Tideway of Bandon River	318	..	..	Kilmoe	13974	7234	4189
EAST CARRERY.				Skull	37922	17314	11000
West Division.							
Castleventry, Part of -	3491	1480	726	COURCKYS.			
Drinagh, Part of ..	4887	2086	1068	Kilroan, Part of ..	894	572	308
Fanlobbus	35605	12253	8754	Ringrone, Part of -	5371	3177	1820
Inchigeelagh, Part of	5576	677	578	Templetrine, Part of	2546	1128	476
Kilfaughnabeg	3126	2556	1391	Tideway of Bandon River	198	..	..
Kilkerranmore, Part of	652	317	113				
Kilmacaben, Part of ..	9484	4259	2219	IBANE AND HARRYROE.			
Kilmeen, Part of ..	7305	3090	1838	Abbeymahon			
Kilmichael, Part of ..	4412	1066	748	Ardfield			
				Castleventry, Part of			
				Desert, Part of ..			
				Donaghmore			

Name of Parish.	No. of Acres.	Population		Name of Parish.	No. of Acres.	Population	
		In 1841	In 1851			In 1841	In 1851
Island, Parts of -	1309	781	562	EAST MUSKERRY, PART OF	18733	6001	3567
Kilgarraff, Part of -	872	552	326				
Kilacerranmore, Part of -	5475	2679	1543				
Kilmeen, Part of -	1362	646	378				
Kilsillagh -	244	188	129				
Lislee -	6302	5211	3423	Aghinagh -	9420	2699	2133
Rathbarry, Part of -	4358	2543	2174	—			
Ross, Part of -	947	554	264	WEST MUSKERRY.	18733	6001	3567
Templeomalus -	1931	1612	913				
Templequinlan, Part of -	1345	923	636				
Timoleague, Part of -	2184	1394	803				
—							
KINALMEANY.				Ballinadee, Part of -	607	71	66
Ballymodan, Part of -	4366	5930	4983	Ballyvourney -	26602	4466	3006
Brinny, Part of -	3707	1370	952	Clondrohid -	27114	6258	4591
Desertserges, Part of -	4114	1506	779	Drishane, Part of -	30649	7978	7629
Kilbrogan -	7577	5404	4219	Dunisky -	1186	491	277
Kilowen -	1263	366	286	Inchigeelagh, Part of -	39839	5680	4006
Murragh, Part of -	7236	2712	1524	Kilcorney -	8836	1761	1201
Templemartin -	7515	2362	1550	Kilmichael, Part of -	16455	5184	3200
				Kilmurry, Part of -	8949	3465	2106
				Kilnamartyry -	11080	2782	1803
				Macloneigh -	3808	1622	1192
				Macroom -	12666	7227	7704

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Mr. Gibson is deeply read in the antiquities and history of Ireland. He has written two romances, founded on portions of our annals. He is a diligent black-letter student, given to historical research, and yet a lover of the picturesque, and has the happy faculty of producing life-like pictures of the past. With all these, he has a practical turn of mind, an eye to utility, and a constant perception of the actualities around him. He is an original thinker, a true patriot. As a Protestant, earnest yet tolerant, and capable of sympathising with earnest and true men of all ages and all churches. His style is terse, pointed, and forcible. Such a man is eminently qualified to write a history of that beautiful city enclosed by "the spreading Lee,"—that city which, in the olden times, made its English visitors the best cheer they ever had in their lives,—whose sons are so distinguished by their talents and learning in the various professions which they adorn, and which is so rapidly advancing in prosperity. The first volume of the History has not disappointed the high expectations of the public. It is a valuable contribution to our historic literature.

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Mr. Gibson's book, of which the first of two volumes has just appeared, gives evidence of care, labour, and scholarship. He has tried hard, and not without success, to avoid the prosiness which threatens a book, dealing with very ancient chronicles, that hold little more than names, dates, genealogies, and a few striking events; and even the driest part of his work—that embracing the period from the 10th to the 12th centuries—is scarcely formidable enough to daunt the most frivolous reader. To local readers the value of such a book as this must be self-evident. One can scarcely travel five miles, through any part of the County of Cork, without seeing the time-defying remains of some Castle, that had once been a fortress of the Desmond, the M'Carthy, the O'Sullivan, or some other of the great tribes that so long vindicated the independence of the country against foreign domination. A glance at this work endows the dry stones with life. The author, in bringing his narrative to the point at which we find it, has not only displayed much care, but has evidently striven to be impartial, and has everywhere sought to afford knowledge rather than gratify prejudice.

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